

# CONCLUSIVE PALAEODEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS, BASED ON NEW ANTHROPOLOGICAL DATA FROM THE CEMETERY OF QUMRAN

A demographic approach to the analysis of human skeletal remains provides important information about the populations of archaeological sites. Estimating the basic parameters of age-at-death and sex of skeletal remains are important elements in almost all studies of past populations, as they contribute essential data about the population of the particular site and human society in the relevant period in general. In the specific study of Qumran's cemetery, these parameters constitute an important element in understanding the nature of the associated archaeological site and the identity of its inhabitants: The age and sex composition of the skeletal population may support or refute suggestions made about the identity of the people of Qumran, whether a community of ideologically celibate men, a group of craftsmen, soldiers who were stationed or died in this region, or regular civilians living in the area surrounding this small settlement.<sup>1</sup>

Since most of the Dead Sea Scrolls were found in the immediate vicinity of this site, and since it may be associated with the Essenes, an enigmatic sectarian group,<sup>2</sup> the public and scientific community have followed each new demographic datum obtained from the cemetery

<sup>1</sup> Y. Magen and Y. Peleg, "The Qumran Excavations 1993–2004: Preliminary Report," *JSP* 6 (2007): 1–74; S. G. Sheridan, "Scholars, Soldiers, Craftsmen, Elites? Analysis of French Collection of Human Remains from Qumran," *DSD* 9 (2002): 199–248; J. E. Zias, "The Cemeteries of Qumran and Celibacy: Confusion Laid to Rest?" *DSD* 7 (2000): 220–253.

<sup>2</sup> See the summaries by M. Broshi, "Daily Life at Qumran," in *The Qumran Scrolls and their World*, ed. M. Kister (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2009), 25–48 [Hebrew]; J. Magness, *Debating Qumran: Collected Essays on its Archaeology* (Leuven: Peeters, 2004).

with special interest, and worthy of careful inspection. Yet, Qumran's cemetery has not yet been sufficiently excavated, and only a few of the skeletal remains that were found in past excavations were adequately studied (see discussion below).

An extensive excavation in 2015/2016 at the northern extension of Qumran's cemetery hill yielded valuable new paleo-demographic information. When combined with a revision of previously reported data, the accumulated information is enough to establish a statistically reliable paleo-demographic discussion for the first time in the history of Qumran research. The following article discusses the results of the demographic analysis of 33 skeletal remains newly excavated at Qumran's cemetery. A description of the specific age-at-death and sex estimation methodologies applied for each skeleton excavated in the 2015/2016 session is given in detail in the appendix.

## Materials and Methods

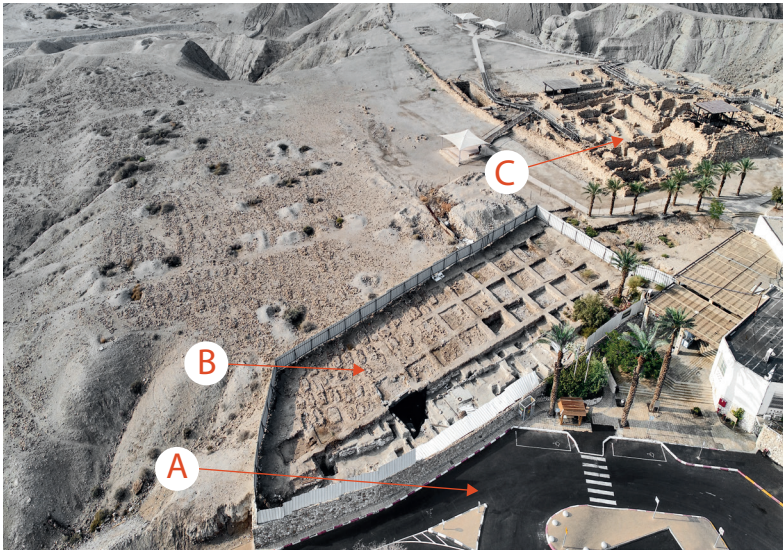
Qumran is situated on the western edge of a plateau slightly inclined towards the Dead Sea. The size of the main burial field of the site is approximately  $50 \times 180$  m. It lies 45 m east of the dwelling part of the site and according to estimates includes around 1200 tombs.<sup>3</sup> Adjacent plots north and south of the main cemetery include additional 12 and 30 known tombs.

In the winter of 2015/2016, an archaeological excavation in the northern area of the Qumran cemetery was undertaken by the Staff Officer of Archaeology in Judah and Samaria, following development plans by the Israel Nature and Parks Authority. The excavation was led by the archaeologists Hanania Hizmi, Yevgeni Aharonovich, and Dotan Traubman. The excavation was executed on the northern margins of the main cemetery, in  $340 \text{ m}^2$  of digging area. In all, 111 tombs were recorded in this area, and 27 of them were excavated (Figure 1). They included the remains of 33 human skeletons.<sup>4</sup> The northern border of the cemetery was determined artificially by the modern entrance to the visitor's center. The construction of this entrance, with its fence and decorative vegetation, must have exposed an additional unknown number of graves.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> H. Eshel et al., "New Data on the Cemetery East of Khirbet Qumran," *DSD* 9 (2002): 135–165.

<sup>4</sup> The remains of three more skeletons, found in a rectangular installation (obviously not a "grave"), were excluded from this paper, as we believe that they were not part of the Qumran cemetery. See below: "A Note About Dating."

<sup>5</sup> Apparently, the pavement and the associated roadside development works were carried out in 1981/1982, on the route of a previously constructed path, without suitable archaeological supervision.



- A Access road to the visitor center
- B The excavated area of the cemetery
- C Horvat Qumran

Figure 1. The excavated area—a view from above: A. An access road to the visitor's center. B. The excavated area of the cemetery. C. Horvat Qumran.

Clearing out the fill from the shaft of a tomb down to the level of skeletal remains was our preferred practice. Yet, a number of factors forced changes to this methodology: recent disturbances that wiped out any marks of a tomb on the surface area; safety regulations which sometimes limited digging into a narrow shaft; and the risk of damaging the bones when a too-narrow shaft opening did not allow for easy access. Therefore, soil was removed in layers until full identification of the shaft could be made; then the shaft was excavated with the surrounding fill to allow comfortable space for the workers without the risk of damaging the skeletal remains; and finally, the shaft was destroyed, leaving only its remains visible in a vertical section. The shafts were devoid of burial offerings.

A group of 27 tombs were excavated and studied in the 2015/2016 season.<sup>6</sup> The tombs were in a shape generally known as “Qumran-type” (Figure 2), which has the following features: 1. The tombs are covered by a shallow, oval tumulus, made of small fieldstones (Figure 3);

<sup>6</sup> This group does not include the rectangular water installation that was used for the burial of three people in its final use.

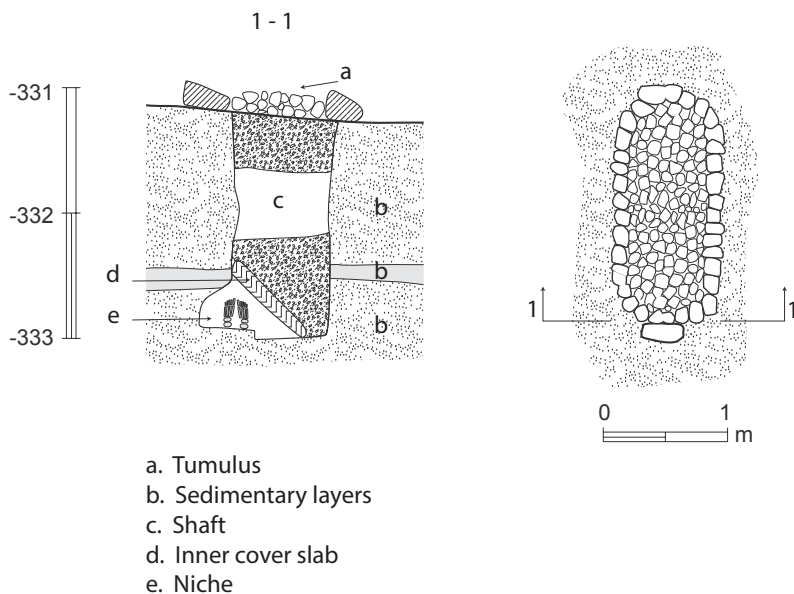


Figure 2. Section of a typical grave. Average size  $1.0 \times 2.2$  m; pit depth from 1.3 m to 2.2 m.



Figure 3. Typical tumuli, marking graves in the excavated area.



2. They are in the shape of a rectangular pit, with an average size of  $1.0 \times 2.2$  m, and a depth ranging from 1.3 m to 2.2 m; 3. The burial is either at the bottom of the pit, or in a protruding niche, sometimes covered by obliquely laid slabs (Figures 4, 5). Although we still prefer the term “Qumran-type” to define such tombs, we are aware that tombs of similar shape were found in several cemeteries in the Jordan Valley and Jerusalem.<sup>7</sup> They even reach as far as the central and northern Shefelah,<sup>8</sup> and date as late as the Byzantine period,<sup>9</sup> thus they cannot necessarily be attributed to a specific community exclusively. It should be noted, however, that one tomb (L.1062) was different in nature: The dead was put in an elaborated wooden coffin, at the bottom of the shaft, at a slightly deeper level than the burials around it.

Despite the normally dry climate of the Judaeen Desert, the state of preservation of most of the bones was poor, as extensive irrigation and penetration of roots into graves damaged the upper part of the tombs and enhanced the deterioration of many of the bones. Moreover, the anthropological examination of skeletal remains was limited to the archaeological site because of Israeli legal constraints and the concerns of political and religious groups. This affected the study considerably and impeded full reconstruction of anthropological parameters. The description is therefore focused on the burial postures, and the skeletal markers relevant for the age-at-death estimation and sex determination. In general, sex determination was based on the skull, the mandible, the pelvic morphology,<sup>10</sup> and on the measurements of the vertical diameter of the femoral proximal head and the width of the humeral epicondyle.<sup>11</sup> When the skeletal markers were contradictory, or not clear enough for a reliable sex determination, gender was regarded as unknown. The age-at-death estimation was based on epiphyseal or suture closure in

<sup>7</sup> G. Avni, “Who Were Interred in the Qumran Cemetery? The Ethnic Identity of Ancient Populations in Light of Archaeological Findings in Burial Sites,” *Cathedra* 131 (2009): 43–64 [Hebrew].

<sup>8</sup> A. Gorzalczani, “Baqā el-Gharbiya Area: A Roman-Period Cemetery and Other Finds,” *Atiqot* 64 (2010): 105–136 [Hebrew]; E. C. M. van den Brink and D. Lazar, “Nevallat, a Chalcolithic Habitation Site with Agricultural Installations in the Shephelah Foothills Region, Israel,” *Atiqot* 94 (2019): 36–37, 72–75.

<sup>9</sup> A. Nagar, “The Cemetery in Beit Safafa, Jerusalem – A Re-examination in Light of the Excavations 2013–2014,” in vol. 21 of *New Studies on Jerusalem*, ed. A. Baruch and A. Faust (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan, 2015), 221–235.

<sup>10</sup> W. M. Bass, *Human Osteology: A Laboratory and Field Manual*, 3rd ed. (Columbia, MI: Missouri Archaeological Society, 1987), 82, 201; S. R. Loth and M. Henneberg, “Mandibular Ramus Flexure: A New Morphologic Indicator of Sexual Dimorphism in the Human Skeleton,” *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 99 (1996): 473–485.

<sup>11</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 151, 219.



Figure 4. A typical grave, with stone slabs covering a side niche.



Figure 5. A typical burial of an adult individual.

the long bones, in the vertebrae and pelvis, in the maxillary bone, and in the medial aspect of the clavicle;<sup>12</sup> on chronological changes in the symphysis pubis, in the auricular surface, and in the sternal end of ribs;<sup>13</sup> and on tooth-attribution stages.<sup>14</sup> These parameters were aided, when possible, by the shape and growth of vertebral osteophytes and calcified thyroid cartilage,<sup>15</sup> and by the presence or absence of suture closure in the skull.<sup>16</sup> After describing all possible age markers for a given individual, the results were averaged to make a combined estimation. However, when markers were not sufficient for a narrow estimation, only a lower or upper limit to the age-at-death was assessed.

Data concerning morphology (skull measurements and epigenetic traits) and pathology were also systematically collected on-site, and a small sample of petral bones were saved for further genetic study. However, these results are the subject of several future publications.

### A Note About Dating

Conclusive dating of this section of Qumran's cemetery is the subject of a separate, future publication, in which stratigraphy, <sup>14</sup>C analyses,<sup>17</sup> and analogous finds will be synthesized and discussed. In general, we noticed two phases in the excavated area:

<sup>12</sup> F. E. Johnston and L. O. Zimmer, "Assessment of Growth and Age in the Immature Skeleton," in *Reconstruction of Life from the Skeleton*, ed. M. Y. Iscan and K. A. R. Kenneth (New York: Alan R. Liss, 1989), 11–22; R. W. Mann, S. A. Symes and W. M. Bass, "Maxillary Suture Obliteration: Aging the Human Skeleton Based on Intact or Fragmentary Maxilla," *Journal of Forensic Sciences* 32 (1987): 148–157; J. Szilvassy, "Age Determination on the Sternal Articular Faces of the Clavicle," *Journal of Human Evolution* 9 (1980): 609–610.

<sup>13</sup> S. Brooks and J. M. Suchey, "Skeletal Age Determination Based on the Os Pubis: a Comparison of Acsadi - Nemeskeri and Suchey - Brooks Methods," *Human Evolution* 5 (1990): 227–238; S. R. Loth and M. Y. Iscan, "Morphological Assessment of Age in the Adult: The Thoracic Region," in *Age Markers in the Human Skeleton*, ed. M. Y. Iscan (Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas, 1989), 105–136; C. O. Lovejoy et al., "Chronological Metamorphosis of the Auricular Surface of the Ilium: A New Method for the Determination of Adult skeletal Age-at-Death," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 68 (1985): 15–28.

<sup>14</sup> S. Hillson, *Teeth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 176–201.

<sup>15</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 19–20; Loth and Iscan, "The Thoracic Region."

<sup>16</sup> I. Herskovitz et al., "Why Do We Fail in Aging the Skull from the Sagittal Suture?," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 103 (1997): 393–400.

<sup>17</sup> <sup>14</sup>C dating was carried out by Prof. Elisabetta Boaretto, The Kimmel Center for Archaeological Science, Weizmann Institute of Science. The samples were prescreened and prepared according to the process by M. Yitzhaq et al., in "Quality Controlled Radiocarbon Dating of Bones and Charcoal from the Early Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (PPNB) of Moza, Israel," *Radiocarbon* 47 (2005): 193–206.

(1) Regular burial. A sample taken from one skeleton from a “Qumran-type” tomb (L.1187) yielded a small amount of collagen (0.1%), yet enough for  $^{14}\text{C}$  dating. This skeleton was dated to the first half of the 1st century CE, corresponding to the early Roman period: 20 CE–75 CE is the calibrated range of  $\pm 1\sigma$  (68% probability that the true age is included in those limits), while 5 BCE–90 CE is the calibrated range of  $\pm 2\sigma$  (95.4% probability).

$^{14}\text{C}$  dating of two more bone samples from the regular cemetery tombs failed due to lack of collagen. Other samples, however, including the skeleton from L.1062, will be tested soon.

(2) We interpreted a plastered water installation (L.1177) in the excavation area as a possible purification bath. Inside it we found the haphazard burial of three individuals (with artifacts) dated to the first century–beginning of the second century CE. This finding necessarily indicates that no later than the 2nd century CE, at least in this area of the tomb-field, the cemetery associated with the Hasmonean–early Roman population of the site was no longer in use. This installation will be the subject of a separate publication by the excavators. The skeletal remains found in it are definitely not part of the Second-Temple period cemetery in question and therefore will be described in a separate publication.

## Results

The demographically related skeletal markers from the remains of the 33 newly discovered skeletons are analyzed in the present study. Despite the poor state of preservation of some of the bones, all the skeletons included enough diagnostic skeletal elements for the estimation of age-at-death, which could fit into a relatively narrow interval, while the determination of sex was possible in 30 out of the 33 individuals listed. The results, summarized in Table 1, are a multifactorial interpretation of the data presented in the appendix.

Table 1. Summary of the conclusive age-at-death and sex estimations in Qumran.

Locus	Age estimation	Sex estimation	Remarks
1050	30–40 years	Male	
1061	40–50 years	?	Sex-related morphology not straightforward, possibly a male?
1062	50< years	Male	Uniquely buried in a wooden coffin



Locus	Age estimation	Sex estimation	Remarks
1074	30–40 years	Male	
1087	30–60 years	Male	Poor state of preservation
1156, B.10233	30–50 years	Male	
1156, B.10234	40–50 years	Male	
1156, B.10235	18–25 years	?	This basket included a mixture of bone fragments representing all the skeletons from this grave
1156, B.10236	50< years	Male	
1157	50–60 years	Male	
1159, B.10212	30–40 years	Male	
1159, B.10213	30–40 years	Male	
1159, B.10214	40–50 years	Male	
1161	50–60 years	Male	
1164	35–50 years	Male	
1166	40–50 years	Male	
1168	50–60 years	Male	
1170	30–40 years	Male	
1171	40–50 years	Male	Bones in secondary burial, probably from a grave disturbed by modern activity
1174	40–50 years	Male	
1175	30–40 years	?	Bones in secondary burial, probably from a grave disturbed by modern activity
1178	30–45 years	Male	
1179, B.10201	>50 years	Male	In disturbed burial
1179, B.10202	20–40 years	Male	In disturbed burial
1180	30–40 years	Male	
1181	35–50 years	Male	
1183	>60 years	Male	
1185	40–50 years	Male	
1186	30–45 years	Male	

Locus	Age estimation	Sex estimation	Remarks
1187	40–50 years	Male	
1189	30–40 years	Male	
1194	20–30 years	Male	
1196	50–60 years	Male	

## Discussion

Estimating the age-at-death and sex of skeletal remains is a fundamental aspect in the study of ancient cemetery populations. As a basic methodological practice, such estimations are routinely reported without much criticism in many archaeological publications of skeletal remains. Yet, the age and sex distribution of the skeletal population excavated in Qumran was subject to debate by many scholars, as this data is a key factor in the understanding and interpretation of the nature of this community. At the same time, it is obvious that many skeletons excavated in the past were not adequately analyzed according to anthropological standards, and that previous samples were not large enough to draw statistically convincing conclusions.<sup>18</sup>

### *Past Evaluations of Demographic Parameters*

R. de Vaux allegedly discovered the remains of 56 skeletons in the first excavation of human skeletal remains at Qumran, between 1949–1956. These remains were poorly and only partially preserved, and insufficiently described by the excavators.<sup>19</sup> Yet, some data concerning age-at-death and sex were provided by de Vaux and G. Kurth who studied some of the remains *in vitro*.<sup>20</sup> Since some skeletal remains were counted as representing more than one individual in the same grave, the poor state of preservation may have resulted in mistakes, and since no clear descriptions or photos are provided, the Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) stated above should be regarded as speculative. When combining all de Vaux's excavations together, 48 adults and

<sup>18</sup> M. Lönnqvist and K. Lönnqvist, *Archaeology of the Hidden Qumran: The New Paradigm* (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2002), 241–272; Magness, *Debating Qumran*, 113–119; Sheridan, “Scholars, Soldiers, Craftsmen;” J. E. Taylor, “The Cemeteries of Khirbet Qumran and Women's Presence at the Site,” *DSD* 6 (1999): 285–323; Zias, “Qumran and Celibacy.”

<sup>19</sup> R. de Vaux, “Fouilles de Khirbet Qumran,” *RB* 63 (1956): 569–572.

<sup>20</sup> See de Vaux, “Fouilles de Khirbet Qumran;” O. Röhrer-Ertl, F. Rohrhirsch, and D. Hahn, “Über die Gräberfelder von Khirbet Qumran, insbesondere die Funde der Kampagne 1956,” *RevQ* 19 (1999): 3–47.

eight children are counted,<sup>21</sup> although, taking into account the problematic original documentation mentioned above, some individuals may have been mistakenly double-counted by the excavators. Of the adults, 30 males and 16 females are mentioned without any osteological proof. Besides, De Vaux also determined the sex of little children, although sexing methodology based on osteological remains of children is not yet available. This highlights the speculative nature of de Vaux's original anthropological estimations, and their irrelevance to our osteological-based demographic discussion.

Unfortunately, a later publication of the fragmentary remains of 22 skeletons excavated by de Vaux and preserved in Germany ("der Collectio Kurth")<sup>22</sup> did not move the discussion much further. Indeed, the writers distinguish well between children (three individuals) and adults (19 individuals), as is reflected by the photographs provided. However, although modern estimation methodologies are mentioned in an earlier section of this publication, no anthropological description of any individual is given, and the sexing of the children is obviously of no biological basis. Besides, the tombs from which some of this collection was taken, e.g. Tombs Qs1–4 where a woman and three children were allegedly found, deviate in their typology from the rest of the Qumran graves, and thus are surmised by Zias to be an intrusion to this cemetery.<sup>23</sup>

A better analysis of some of the skeletons excavated and published by de Vaux was recently conducted by Sheridan and Ullinger.<sup>24</sup> Although their research included only the examination of the fragmentary remains of 20 individuals (adults only), modern techniques were used for the estimations of age-at-death and sex. This made their results more reliable, and available for discussion together with the data presented in the present study. In their new study, Sheridan and Ullinger challenged previous estimations made by Kurth, and six of the seven individuals regarded earlier as "female" are now claimed to be males.<sup>25</sup> Included in their 20 new estimations are 17 males, one female, and two adults of unknown sex. The only individual estimated as female is individual QA, whose bone inventory was partial. However, the skulls of individuals QA and QB which were not available to Sheridan and her

<sup>21</sup> Taylor, "The Cemeteries of Khirbet Qumran," 285–323.

<sup>22</sup> Röhrer-Ertl, Rohrhirsch, and Hahn, "Über die Gräberfelder."

<sup>23</sup> Zias, "Qumran and Celibacy."

<sup>24</sup> S. G. Sheridan and J. Ullinger, "A Reconsideration of the Human Remains in the French Collection from Qumran," in *Qumran, The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates*, ed. K. Galor, J.-B. Humbert, and J. Zangenberg (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

<sup>25</sup> See Sheridan and Ullinger, "Reconsideration of Human Remains," 210.

colleagues,<sup>26</sup> were recently discovered in the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem and separately inspected by Nagar;<sup>27</sup> The sex of QA could not be determined, while QB was identified as a male. Sheridan and Ullinger also published better age-at-death estimations for 19 of the above-mentioned individuals, however, their results were not much different from the original estimations.<sup>28</sup>

Another excavation with potential additional demographic information from Qumran was carried out by Steckholl in 1966–1967. He presented the estimations of the age-at-death and sex of 11 new skeletons, in publications concerning aspects of burial practices at this site.<sup>29</sup> Steckholl described six men, four women, and an infant. However, non-scientific phrases such as “a man ... who in life was a horseman,” and “a man aged 22 years ... who walked barefoot,”<sup>30</sup> are enough to understand that his conclusions are not based upon any acknowledged methodology. Indeed, these human remains were inspected again by Röhrer-Ertl, who claimed that the original estimations were not consistent with modern standards.<sup>31</sup> Only one skeleton excavated by Steckholl, an adult individual whose skull manifested healed fracture (field no. Q.G.2), received a full and convincing anthropological description by two Israeli anthropologists.<sup>32</sup> Based on skull morphology, it was estimated to be a male, while age-at-death was estimated as >65 years, based on suture closure, exposure of secondary dentine in the incisor teeth, and porosity in the vertebral bodies. This is the only reliable demographic data which can be used from the Steckholl sample. Yet, caution is needed using the age estimation of individual Q.G.2, which is more likely to be >40 years.

Two skeletons in primary burial were found in 2001 by H. Eshel, M. Broshi, R. Freund and B. Schultz, in a grave marked as “Burial 1000”.<sup>33</sup> These skeletons, estimated by Nagar as adult females,<sup>34</sup> were not found in a Qumran type grave, but in a shallow unmarked pit, next to the remains of a ruined structure. Such a burial of sporadic skeletons

<sup>26</sup> Sheridan, “Scholars, Soldiers, Craftsmen,” 212, 227.

<sup>27</sup> Y. Nagar, “Anthropological Remains from Qumran—New Data and Analysis,” in *Back to Qumran*, ed. B. Magen and Y. Peleg, JSP 18 (Jerusalem: IAA, 2018), 443–452.

<sup>28</sup> Sheridan and Ullinger, “Reconsideration of Human Remains,” 210.

<sup>29</sup> S. H. Steckholl, “Preliminary Excavation Report in the Qumran Cemetery,” *RevQ* 6 (1968): 323–336; S. H. Steckholl et al., “Red-stained Human Bones from Qumran,” *Israel Journal of Medical Sciences* 7 (1971): 1219–1223.

<sup>30</sup> Steckholl, “Preliminary Excavation Report,” 335.

<sup>31</sup> Röhrer-Ertl, Rohrhirsch, and Hahn, “Über die Gräberfelder.”

<sup>32</sup> N. Haas and H. Nathan, “Anthropological Survey on the Human Skeletal Remains from Qumran,” *RevQ* 23 (1968): 344–352.

<sup>33</sup> Eshel et al., “New Data on the Cemetery.”

<sup>34</sup> Y. Nagar, “Bone Study of Burial 1000,” *DSD* 9 (2002): 166.



in a pit next to ancient ruins is a Bedouin custom of the past few hundred years and has been reported in many ruins in central and southern Israel, where the protruding stones of an ancient structure probably served as a landmark for the graves. Examples of this phenomenon, as registered in the IAA archives, include sites in the Negev such as Darajat Junction (A-6316), Tel 'Arad (A-6940), Giv'at Oger (A-6414), and Nahal Be'er Sheva (A-7732), and sites in central Israel, such as Hamoza (A-2067), Motza (A-6554), Fazaelis (L-22-3), Kseffe (L-1045), Beqo'a (A-5487), and Modi'in (A-6537).<sup>35</sup> It is most reasonable therefore to assume that the unusual burial indicated as "burial 1000" by Eshel et al.,<sup>36</sup> represents this widespread phenomenon of sporadic Bedouin burial, and thus is irrelevant to our discussion.

In 2002, Eshel and Broshi performed another, small scale excavation, in the Qumran cemetery.<sup>37</sup> In this season, one adult skeleton (marked as "T.1000") was taken out of the ground and examined on-site. Although the bones were exhumed without the presence of an anthropologist, the remains were carefully studied by Y. Nagar immediately after their excavation. Based on skull and pelvic morphology, this individual was identified as a male. Based on the average obtained by several age markers such as tooth attrition and chronological changes in the symphysis pubis and the sternal end of ribs, its age-at-death was estimated as 35–40 years.<sup>38</sup>

A more extensive grave excavation of this site was carried out in 2004/5 by the Staff Officer of Archaeology in the Civil Administration of Judea and Samaria.<sup>39</sup> In this season, nine more graves were opened; human skeletons, however, were found in only four of them. Although the remains were analyzed by an anthropologist and enriched our knowledge with new data, it is still from a very small sample, without critical assessment of previous scholarship.<sup>40</sup> The sample included well-preserved skeletal remains, allowing the inspection of many age and sex osteological indicators, which were recorded in detail by the researcher prior to the reburial of the finds. All four individuals were estimated as adult males, aged as 20–25, 20–25, 30–40, >60 years old.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Preliminary publications of most of the sites mentioned above, sorted by their license no., can be found in the internet version of *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* (<http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il>).

<sup>36</sup> Eshel et al., "New Data on the Cemetery."

<sup>37</sup> M. Broshi and H. Eshel, "Three Seasons of Excavations at Qumran," *JRA* 17 (2004): 321–332.

<sup>38</sup> Y. Nagar, "Anthropological Report on a Skeleton from Tomb 1000," *JRA* 17 (2004): 332.

<sup>39</sup> Magen and Peleg, *The Qumran Excavations*.

<sup>40</sup> Nagar, "Anthropological Remains from Qumran."

<sup>41</sup> Magen and Peleg, *The Qumran Excavations*, 45; Nagar, "Anthropological Remains from Qumran."

### *Sample Size*

Of the 73 individuals excavated at Qumran by the various researchers mentioned above, only one described by Haas and Nathan,<sup>42</sup> five described by Nagar,<sup>43</sup> and 20 by Sheridan and Ullinger,<sup>44</sup> are both relevant and satisfactorily examined (Table 2). Therefore, despite all the excavations mentioned above, the demographically relevant sample size of the Qumran population remained small. Although the magnitude of the sample is a crucial factor in determining the reliability of mortality-related paleodemographic parameters,<sup>45</sup> in archaeology, and mainly in salvage excavations, it is usually an extrinsic factor not determined by the researcher. This problem has markedly affected earlier discussions about the skeletal remains found at Qumran. Sheridan and Ullinger stated that the available sample that remained from the original excavation by de Vaux was under-representative and poorly preserved, impeding reliable reconstruction of the age and sex profile of the cemetery population.<sup>46</sup> In this respect, one of the contributions of the 2015 excavation to the demographic discussion about the ancient population of Qumran is the enlargement of the available bone samples, making it suitable for statistical analysis. With the additional 33 individuals attributed to the Hellenistic-early Roman period Qumran population in the present study, the total number of individuals with valid age-at-death and sex estimations has increased to 59 (Table 2). The analysis of 38 of them was made by the same investigator, using the same well-established methodologies for aging and sexing, thus reducing to a minimum the bias expected from inter-observer error.

Table 2. The relevant inventory of human skeletons from Qumran.

Excavation/year	Reference	Sample size	Remarks
De Vaux 1949–1956	Sheridan and Ullinger 2006	20	Two skulls (QA, QB) were additionally inspected by Nagar.
Steckholl 1966	Nathan and Haas 1968	1	Adult male manifesting head wound

<sup>42</sup> Haas and Nathan, “Anthropological Survey.”

<sup>43</sup> Nagar, “Anthropological Report Tomb 1000;” Nagar, “Anthropological Remains from Qumran.”

<sup>44</sup> Sheridan and Ullinger, “Reconsideration of Human Remains.”

<sup>45</sup> R. Hoppa and S. Saunders, “The MAD Legacy: How Meaningful is Mean Age-at-Death in Skeletal Samples,” *Human Evolution* 13 (1998): 1–14.

<sup>46</sup> Sheridan and Ullinger, “Reconsideration of Human Remains.”

Excavation/year	Reference	Sample size	Remarks
Broshi and Eshel 2002, T.1000	Broshi and Eshel 2004; Nagar 2004	1	Qumran type grave
Magen and Peleg 2004	Nagar 2018	4	
Hizmi, Aharonovich, and Dothan, 2015/2016	Present study (see appendix)	33	2 were re-buried following modern destruction of their original grave

### *Sex Ratio*

Influenced by historical sources that at times are found in apparent contradiction,<sup>47</sup> the question has arisen as to the presence of women in this cemetery, and their relative proportion in the skeletal sample.<sup>48</sup> In the first publication of skeletal remains from Qumran, de Vaux claimed the presence of “many” women at the site. Still, a predominance of males was already noticed, about twice as many as females in this sample of 46 sexed adults.<sup>49</sup> This unreliable information (see discussion above) was revisited again by Röhrer-Ertl, Rohrhirsch, and Hahn, who discussed a smaller sample of 21 sexed individuals only (12 men and nine women), yet leaving the same overall ratio of approximately 2:1 in favor of males.<sup>50</sup> The predominance of males, however to a lesser degree, was retained while expanding the sample to 10 more sexed adults excavated by Steckholl, where 6 males and 4 women were reported.<sup>51</sup> Both samples were listed carefully and described again by Taylor, giving new interpretations as to age and sex of this skeletal sample.<sup>52</sup> However, although rightfully criticizing the on-site original sexing of the individuals as possibly inaccurate, Taylor does not negate de Vaux’s demographic estimations, suggesting that his observation of

<sup>47</sup> See the summary by L. E. Bennet, “The Woman Question and Female Ascetics among Essenes,” *BA* 57 (1994): 220–234; S. W. Crawford, “Not According to Rule: Women, the Dead Sea Scrolls and Qumran,” in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, ed. S. M. Paul et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 127–150.

<sup>48</sup> E.g. Magness, *Debating Qumran*, 113–119; E. Regev, “Cherchez les femmes: Were the *Yahad* Celibates?” *DSD* 15 (2008): 253–284; Sheridan, “Scholars, Soldiers, Craftsmen;” Zias, “Qumran and Celibacy.”

<sup>49</sup> de Vaux, “Fouilles de Khirbet Qumran.”

<sup>50</sup> Röhrer-Ertl, Rohrhirsch, and Hahn, “Über die Gräberfelder,” 47.

<sup>51</sup> Steckholl, “Preliminary Excavation Report;” Steckholl, “Red-stained Bones.”

<sup>52</sup> Taylor, “The Cemeteries of Khirbet Qumran,” Tables 1, 3.

an excess of adult males could be explained by the inherent bias in archaeology in favor of males.<sup>53</sup> These speculative and insufficient data, not criticized enough by Nagar in his first work at Qumran,<sup>54</sup> were used in the conclusive demographic analyses made by Taylor, and later by Lönnqvist and Lönnqvist, to emphasize the presence of women in the Qumran sample, and thus the “normality” of the cemetery population.<sup>55</sup>

As some scholars have proven these earlier ratio estimations to be misleading,<sup>56</sup> and based on the discussion above, only relevant and relatively reliable estimations where a detailed anatomical rationale was presented, were considered in the following discussion. These data are summarized in Table 3; they include the revised estimations of the available past samples and the new data retrieved in the present study, as detailed in the Appendix. Both the revised and the new estimations are based on a combination of as many as possible sex-related morphological traits in the skull, pelvis, and long bones.<sup>57</sup> The results indicate the presence of men only in Qumran’s Second-Temple period tombs in the combined trustworthy sample of 59 adult individuals: 54 individuals were identified as males; five could not be appropriately sexed; and no women were clearly identified (Table 3).

Table 3. Verified sex estimations at Qumran.

Excavation/year	Sex Identifications			Remarks
	M/M?	F/F?	?	
de Vaux 1949–1956	18	0	2	Revised data by Sheridan and Ullinger (2006), with re-evaluation of skull QA by Nagar (2018)
Steckholl 1966	1	0	0	Following Haas and Nathan (1968)
Broshi and Eshel 2002	1	0	0	Nagar (2004)

<sup>53</sup> Taylor, “The Cemeteries of Khirbet Qumran,” based on K. M. Weiss, “On the Systematic Bias in Skeletal Sexing,” *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 37 (1972): 239–249.

<sup>54</sup> Nagar, “Anthropological Remains from Qumran.”

<sup>55</sup> Taylor, “The Cemeteries of Khirbet Qumran;” Lönnqvist and Lönnqvist, *Archaeology of Hidden Qumran*, 241–272.

<sup>56</sup> See Sheridan and Ullinger, “Reconsideration of Human Remains.”

<sup>57</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 82, 201, 151, 219; T. L. Rogers, “Determining the Sex of Human Remains Through Cranial Morphology,” *Journal of Forensic Sciences* 50 (2005): 493–500; T. Rogers and S. Saunders, “Accuracy of Sex Determination Using Morphological Traits of the Human Pelvis,” *Journal of Forensic Sciences* 39 (1994): 1047–1056.



Excavation/year	Sex Identifications			Remarks
	M/M?	F/F?	?	
Magen and Peleg 2004	4	0	0	Nagar (2018)
Hizmi et al. 2015/16	30	0	3	Present study; see detailed information in the appendix
Total	54	0	5	Only males clearly identified

Sheridan was the first to notice that many of the females reported in previous publications of Qumran were probably males.<sup>58</sup> However, having only a small and incomplete sample, she was hesitant in later publications to draw conclusions that could contribute to the debate about the function of the site, claiming that one cannot necessarily propose this age and sex profile as a community pattern.<sup>59</sup> Meanwhile, the misleading sexing of past skeletal samples were used as a basis for many anthropological discussions as to the nature of the cemetery population,<sup>60</sup> and even Magness and Nagar, already in possession of Sheridan's revised results, failed to acknowledge the lack of women in the cemetery, but only pointed out their disproportionate small portion in the overall population.<sup>61</sup> Since the presence of women is not compatible with some historical records, an attempt was made to differentiate between sections of the cemetery, and even to question its association with the site itself.<sup>62</sup> As for the partial sample of Qumran bones that was stored in France and is still available, mistakes occurring while transferring the bones from the site were also suggested as an explanation.<sup>63</sup>

The results presented in Table 3 show that all the reliably examined burials found at Qumran, constituting a relatively big sample of 54 sexed individuals, were of males. With such striking results, it is unnecessary to compare the sex ratio in this sample to other cemetery populations for statistical validation of its oddity. Besides, the sample is big enough to attribute the absence of women also to the living community of the site. The results are compatible with the common theories viewing Qumran as a sectarian settlement,<sup>64</sup> and the expectations of finding there a

<sup>58</sup> Sheridan, "Scholars, Soldiers, Craftsmen."

<sup>59</sup> Sheridan and Ullinger, "Reconsideration of Human Remains," 212.

<sup>60</sup> Bennett, "The Woman Question;" Lönnqvist and Lönnqvist, *Archaeology of Hidden Qumran*, 241–272; Taylor, "The Cemeteries of Khirbet Qumran."

<sup>61</sup> Magness, *Debating Qumran*, 113–119; Nagar, "Anthropological Remains from Qumran."

<sup>62</sup> Zias, "Qumran and Celibacy."

<sup>63</sup> Sheridan and Ullinger, "Reconsideration of Human Remains," 211.

<sup>64</sup> Magness, *Debating Qumran*.

community of celibate men. Finding only men in archaeological large skeletal samples is typical of the Byzantine period monasteries in the deserts east and south of Jerusalem, such as Khan el-Ahmar, Khirbat Umm Leisun, and Ḥora.<sup>65</sup> Despite the above discussion, our sample (Table 3) does not cover all the adult skeletons ever excavated at Qumran, and thus one cannot prove absolute absence of women in this cemetery. De Vaux reported the finding of burial objects usually associated with women, and at least one photograph of an adult individual (Q36) provided by Röhrer-Ertl et al. from their re-inspection of the Kurth collection of skeletal remains held in Germany, may be interpreted as a female.<sup>66</sup>

Obviously, relying solely on the sex ratio of the individuals in a cemetery sample is not enough to establish proof for a community inspired by ideology. The presence of soldiers in this type of a cemetery should also be considered, as was suggested in other cemeteries where only males were found.<sup>67</sup> And indeed, the presence of Roman soldiers at Qumran was also raised as an option by several scholars.<sup>68</sup> This issue will be addressed below (see “Age Distribution—Adults”), and in a future publication about pathologies at Qumran.

#### *Age Distribution—Infants and Children*

The presence of infants, i.e. individuals under the age of 3, in the archaeological sample, is not obvious. Despite their higher probability of death in historic and even modern populations,<sup>69</sup> the presence and proportion of infants are dependent on burial practices,<sup>70</sup> religious beliefs,<sup>71</sup> taphonomy and the quality of the excavation.<sup>72</sup> These

<sup>65</sup> I. Hershkovitz et al., “The Human Remains from the Byzantine Monastery at Khan el-Ahmar,” *Liber Annuus* 43 (1993): 373–385; Y. Nagar, “The Skeletal Remains from Khirbat Umm Leisun, Jerusalem,” *Atiqot* 83 (2015): 205–208; D. Varga, “A Monastery at Ḥora,” *Atiqot*, forthcoming.

<sup>66</sup> Röhrer-Ertl, Rohrhirsch, and Hahn, “Über die Gräberfelder.”

<sup>67</sup> Y. Nagar and Y. Arbel, “Soldiers’ Graves in Mamluk Jaffa,” *IEJ* 67 (2017): 232–246; M. Peilstöcker, “Haifa, Wadi Salib,” *HA-ESI* 115 (2003): 21\*, 23.

<sup>68</sup> L. Cansdale, *Qumran and the Essenes: A Re-evaluation of the Evidence* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 162; Sheridan and Ullinger, “Reconsideration of Human Remains.”

<sup>69</sup> K. M. Weiss, “Demographic Models for Anthropology,” *American Antiquity* 38 (1973): 1–187.

<sup>70</sup> Y. Nagar and V. Eshed, “Where Are the Children? Age-dependent Burial Practices in Peqi’in,” *IEJ* 51 (2001): 27–35.

<sup>71</sup> E.g. M. Carroll, “Infant Death and Burial in Roman Italy,” *JRA* 24 (2011): 99–120.

<sup>72</sup> P. Smith, “An Approach to the Paleodemographic Analysis of Human Skeletal Remains from Archaeological Sites,” in *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990: Proceedings*

factors are imperative when considering the data from Qumran, for which the presence of a celibate adult population has been seriously debated.<sup>73</sup> Although the state of preservation is not supposed to be a crucial factor in this skeletal population buried in the dry loose desert soil, no infants were reported by de Vaux in his original publication,<sup>74</sup> nor were they found in the modern excavations held at Qumran since.<sup>75</sup> The only infant so far, an individual aged ca. 2 years, was reported by Steckholl,<sup>76</sup> who offered no proof to this observation. In order not to confuse small bone fragments, or even animal remains, with infant bones, it is necessary that the excavator would have some basic knowledge in anatomy, or would at least provide good documentation that could be verified later by an anthropologist. It seems that Steckholl, who was actually a journalist, did not meet either condition, thus neither proving nor negating the possibility of his find. His estimation of the age of this individual is as unreliable as his estimations of sex discussed above.

Nevertheless, even taking Steckholl's observations "as is" would not change the overall picture of the absence of infants in this cemetery. The proportion of infants in well-documented Roman period skeletal assemblages of several Jewish and Samaritan populations from Israel is calculated to be 20%.<sup>77</sup> This figure roughly resembles the observations made by Hachlili *et al.* in the Jewish cemetery at Jericho,<sup>78</sup> the large settlement nearest to Qumran, in which the anthropologists B. Arensburg and P. Smith checked a huge sample of 244 skeletons and found that 24% of them were individuals under 5 years old.<sup>79</sup> Based

*of the Second International Congress on Biblical Archaeology*, ed. A. Biran and J. Aviram (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), 1–13; A. L. W. Stodder, "Taphonomy and the Nature of Archaeological Assemblages," in *Biological Anthropology of the Human Skeleton*, ed. M. A. Katzenberg and S. Saunders, 2nd ed. (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2008), 73–115.

<sup>73</sup> Magen and Peleg, *The Qumran Excavations*; Sheridan, "Scholars, Soldiers, Craftsmen;" Zias, "Qumran and Celibacy."

<sup>74</sup> de Vaux, "Fouilles de Khirbet Qumran."

<sup>75</sup> Nagar, "Anthropological Report Tomb 1000;" Nagar, "Anthropological Remains from Qumran;" and Table 1 above.

<sup>76</sup> Steckholl, "Preliminary Excavation Report."

<sup>77</sup> This calculation was made using the IAA anthropological database. A description of this source is given by: Y. Nagar, "The Formation and Use of an Anthropological Database at the Israel Antiquities Authority," *Bioarchaeology of the Near East* 5 (2012): 1–18.

<sup>78</sup> R. Hachlili *et al.*, "The Jewish Necropolis at Jericho," *Current Anthropology* 22 (1981): 701–702.

<sup>79</sup> Unfortunately, the age category of <3 years is not indexed in this publication, and therefore it could not be directly added to the general statistic figure in the previous sentence. Yet, it is, of course, obvious that individuals aged <3 must have been the

upon this statistic, the number of infants in the sample of 106 skeletons presumably excavated at Qumran so far, should have exceeded 20, far above the one infant allegedly found by Steckholl.

While determining the “exact” age of adults is a subject to debates (see below), distinguishing children versus adults by means of bone proportions, tooth development, and closure of epiphyses, is usually unquestionable. Therefore, de Vaux’s mention of the presence of children may be of scientific value, and although he failed in their documentation, some photos provided later by Röhrer-Ertl, Rohrhirsch and Hahn, reveal the skulls of three children at least.<sup>80</sup> Yet, even quoting de Vaux’s publication without the necessary criticism, one cannot avoid at least two anomalies in his results: Children were found mostly in the same (southern) area of the cemetery;<sup>81</sup> and their proportion (eight out of 56 individuals), is by no means less than the accepted norm.<sup>82</sup> When combined with the data in Table 1 and that obtained in the other well analyzed previous excavations,<sup>83</sup> the proportion of children drops to 8.5% of the total sample. If one ignores the lack of infants which was already discussed earlier, eight children at the age category of 5–15 years, and 96 individuals aged >15 (i.e. adults) are counted at Qumran. This demonstrates considerable underrepresentation of children in Qumran’s cemetery compared with other well documented Roman-period skeletal assemblages of Jewish and Samaritan populations of Israel.<sup>84</sup> The results, verified by means of a chi-square test, prove statistical significance at  $p < 0.05$  (Table 4). In contrast, a comparison of the proportion of children that was made between Qumran, and a sample retrieved from three Byzantine-period Monasteries (see location map: Figure 6): Khan el-Ahmar ( $n=154$ ), Umm Leisun ( $n=21$ ), and Ḥora ( $n=7$ ),<sup>85</sup> showed no statistical difference between these monastic populations and Qumran.

majority in the given NB–5 year-old-cohort, and their proportion is therefore compatible with the IAA-database registrations.

<sup>80</sup> Röhrer-Ertl, Rohrhirsch, and Hahn, “Über die Gräberfelder.”

<sup>81</sup> See Zias, “Qumran and Celibacy,” for his speculation as to the relevance of these tombs to the historical site.

<sup>82</sup> de Vaux, “Fouilles de Khirbet Qumran.”

<sup>83</sup> Nagar, “Anthropological Report Tomb on a Skeleton;” Nagar, “Anthropological Remains from Qumran;” Steckholl, “Preliminary Excavation Report.”

<sup>84</sup> These calculations make use of data taken from the IAA database (Nagar, “The Formation and Use”).

<sup>85</sup> Hershkovitz et al., “The Human Remains;” Nagar, “Skeletal Remains;” D. Varga, “A Monastery at Ḥora,” *Atiqot*, forthcoming.



Table 4. Statistical analysis of child proportion in the skeletal sample.

Group	Children aged 5–15y	Adults aged 15<y	$\chi^2$	p-value	Remarks
Qumran	8	96	4.020	0.0449	Significant
Roman-period Jewish and Samaritan sites	36	193			
Qumran	8	96	1.169	0.2795	Not significant
Byzantine-period Monasteries	24	182			

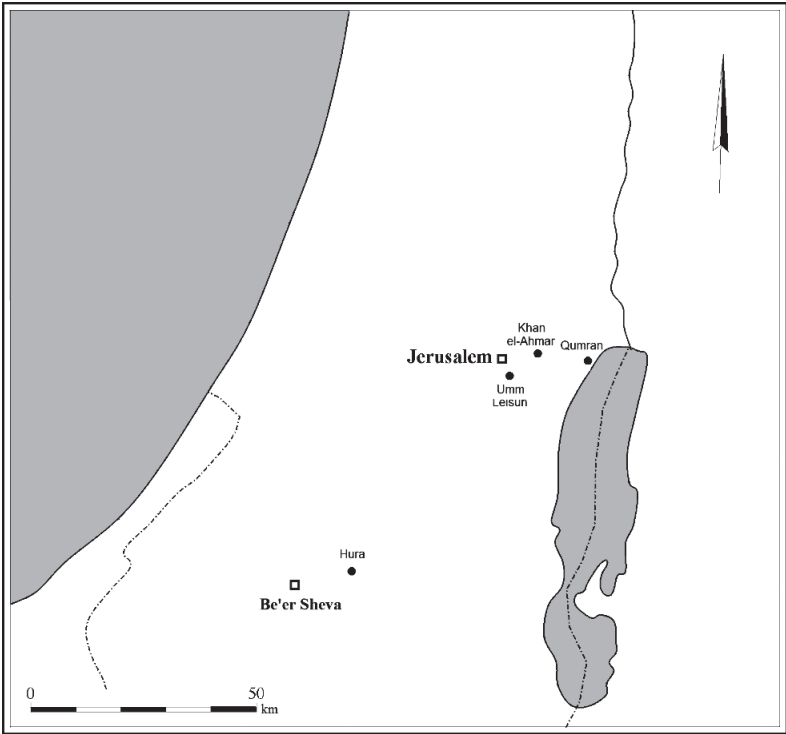


Figure 6. Location map.  
The Byzantine Period monasteries compared with Qumran.

Age Distribution—Adults

Most scholars writing about paleodemography acknowledge that the estimations of adult age-at-death are not absolute.<sup>86</sup> However, an important contribution of the present study to the paleo-demographic discussion of Qumran, lies in the adoption of as many age criteria as possible, a combination which was proved to elevate the reliability of the age-at-death estimations.<sup>87</sup> Using a combination of a variety of methodologies may also serve to achieve better statistical resemblance between the skeletal age-at-death estimations and the actual age-at-death of the individuals sampled. It also allows for categorization of most of the skeletons into narrower, and more accurate, age cohorts.

The results of the adult age-at-death estimations from previous excavations and from the present one are summarized in Table 5. Caution was taken when associating estimations made in the past to the relatively narrow age categories used in Table 5: Sheridan’s review of de Vaux’s data<sup>88</sup> and Haas and Nathan’s inspection of Steckholl’s data were taken into account,<sup>89</sup> but additional data from these excavations, which were not revised by anthropologists, were only categorized as adults of an unknown age. As to the newly retrieved data (see Table 1), no such estimation of “adults of unknown age” is given, and the few individuals spanning two age cohorts were distributed evenly between the relevant groups.

Table 5. Conclusive age-at-death distribution at Qumran.

Excavator	Age-at-death (years)							Adults, age unknown
	NB-4	5-14	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	>50	
de Vaux (revised) <sup>90</sup>			1		5	8	1	4

<sup>86</sup> J. P. Bocquet-Appel and C. Masset, “Farewell to Paleodemography,” *Journal of Human Evolution* 11 (1982): 321–333.

<sup>87</sup> M. E. Bedford et al., “Test of the Multifactorial Aging Method Using Skeletons with Known Ages-at-Death from the Grant Collection,” *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 91 (1993): 287–297; A. Kemke-Grottenthaler, “Aging through the Ages: Historic Perspectives on Age Indicator Methods,” in *Paleodemography. Age Distributions from Skeletal Samples*, ed. R. D. Hoppa and J. W. Vaupel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 48–72; R. S. Meindl and C. O. Lovejoy, “Age Changes in the Pelvis: Implications for Paleodemography,” in *Age Markers*, 137–150.

<sup>88</sup> Sheridan and Ullinger, “Reconsideration of Human Remains.”

<sup>89</sup> Haas and Nathan, “Anthropological Survey.”

<sup>90</sup> Revised adult ages, after Sheridan and Ullinger, “Reconsideration of Human Remains.”

Excavator	Age-at-death (years)							Adults, age unknown
	NB–4	5–14	15–19	20–29	30–39	40–49	>50	
de Vaux (original data) <sup>91</sup>		8						28
Steckholl <sup>92</sup>	1					1		9
Broshi and Eshel					1			
Magen and Peleg				2	1		1	
Hizmi et al.			1	2	9	11	8	
Total	1	8	2	4	16	21	11	41

Although the combined sample presented in Table 5 is sufficient to manifest the abnormality of the age distribution and sex ratio of the Qumran skeletal population, it is unfortunately unsuitable for the calculation of common mortality-related paleodemographic parameters such as age-specific mortality rates, and life expectancy: The sample is still small, and suffers from abnormalities such as lack of infants and underrepresentation of children.<sup>93</sup> While devising demographic models for anthropology, Weiss stated that the researcher must assume a stable population before applying life-table methodologies to skeletal populations. The theory of stable populations requires that a population is infinite in size, has no net immigration, and has fixed rates of fertility and mortality at each age.<sup>94</sup> In the case of Qumran—a community of males only, for which scholars assume that individuals could join subject to certain criteria, among them a minimum age<sup>95</sup>—the sample does not meet any of these requirements.

In order to discuss the demography of Qumran's skeletal population in context, Lönnqvist and Lönnqvist compared their calculation of Qumran's demographic parameters such as sex ratio, child proportion, and adult age-at-death distribution, to other historic populations. They

<sup>91</sup> Additional data from de Vaux's publications which were not re-inspected by an anthropologist.

<sup>92</sup> Infant presence was reported, but this estimation is not sure (see discussion above).

<sup>93</sup> J. W. Wood et al., "Mortality Models for Paleodemography," in *Age Distributions*, 130.

<sup>94</sup> Weiss, "Demographic Models," 6.

<sup>95</sup> Broshi, "Daily life at Qumran."

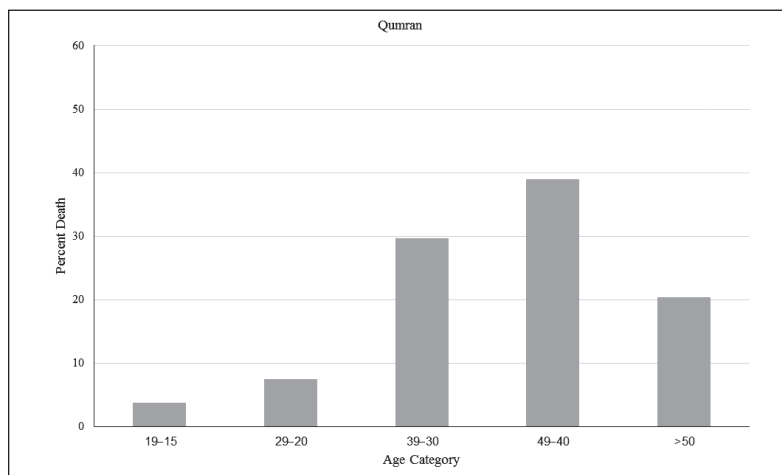


Figure 7. Adult age-at-death distribution in Qumran.

used for this comparison outdated data from excavations conducted by Europeans in Egypt, due to its “proximity in geography and time,”<sup>96</sup> while totally ignoring years of relevant archaeological and anthropological study held in Israel itself.<sup>97</sup> The Qumran age-at-death distribution should better be compared to a relatively well-documented historic sample of skeletal remains from several Jewish sites from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, excavated in Israel and contemporary with the Qumran sample.<sup>98</sup> This combined sample represents sedentary populations typical of its time, with representation of infants, children and adults of both sexes, and of a wide age range, attesting to its regular, civilian nature. This is also reflected in the shape of the mortality curve reconstructed for this sample, which resembles the common and well-accepted ‘West 5’ model described by Coale and Demeny.<sup>99</sup> To compare demographic parameters from these representative Jewish sites with Qumran, the age estimations from both populations were similarly categorized, with the lowest age category set at 15–19 years. Since the sample sizes are not equal, the results are presented in percentages, rather than in absolute numbers (Figures 7, 8). The graphs manifest a different pattern of age-at-death distribution for these two contemporary populations: Unlike the “normal” behavior of the Hellenistic-Roman period Jewish sample

<sup>96</sup> Lönnqvist and Lönnqvist, *Archaeology of Hidden Qumran*, 262

<sup>97</sup> Nagar, “The Formation and Use.”

<sup>98</sup> Y. Nagar and H. Torgeö, “Biological Characteristics of Jewish Burial in the Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods,” *IEJ* 53 (2003): 164–171.

<sup>99</sup> A. J. Coale and P. Demeny, *Regional Model Life Tables and Stable Populations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966).

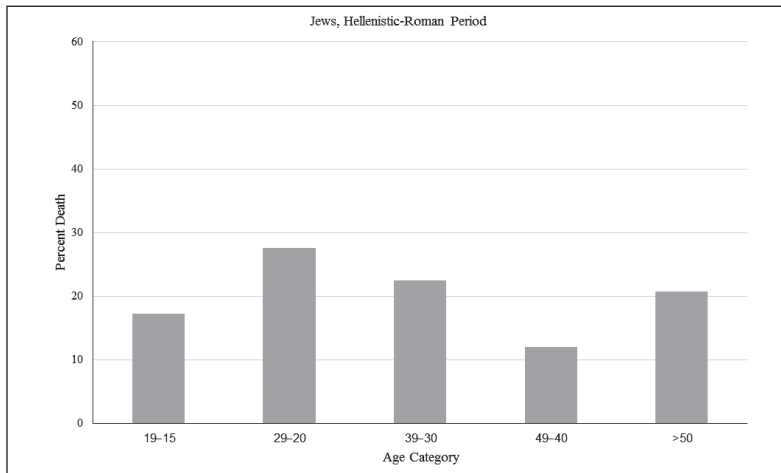


Figure 8. Adult age-at-death distribution in selected Hellenistic-Roman Period Jewish sites.

graph, the Qumran sample manifests a constantly rising graph, with a peak at the 40–50-year-old cohort.

Two hypotheses given by historians and archaeologists to explain the unique age and sex related demographic features of the Qumran skeletal sample were mentioned earlier in this chapter: The cemetery could have been a military one, or represent a community of monks. These theories can be tested again in this article, using the adult age-at-death distribution as a criterion. Presented in the same way as the above graphs, two skeletal samples representing soldiers were compared to the Qumran sample: Figure 9 presents the age-at-death distribution (in percentages) of the Roman period cemetery in ancient Acre, with its large (but not only) military component,<sup>100</sup> while Figure 10 presents the age-at-death distribution of the Mamluk period cemetery in Jaffa, where soldier presence was recently proved to be dominant.<sup>101</sup> These two reference samples show striking similarity to each other, with 45%–56% of the individuals in the 20–29 age category, as is expected in a military cemetery. However, they are markedly different from the Qumran sample (Figure 7). Moreover, the difference between the shape of Figures 9 and 10 (military related cemeteries), and the Qumran age-at-death distribution is larger than the difference between Figure 8 (Jewish, regular civilian sites) and Qumran. Based on this analysis, it is possible to

<sup>100</sup> Y. Tepper, “‘Akko,” *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 126 (2014) ([http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=10590&mag\\_id=121](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=10590&mag_id=121)). The IAA Database is the source for the original data.

<sup>101</sup> Nagar and Arbel, “Soldiers’ Graves in Jaffa.”

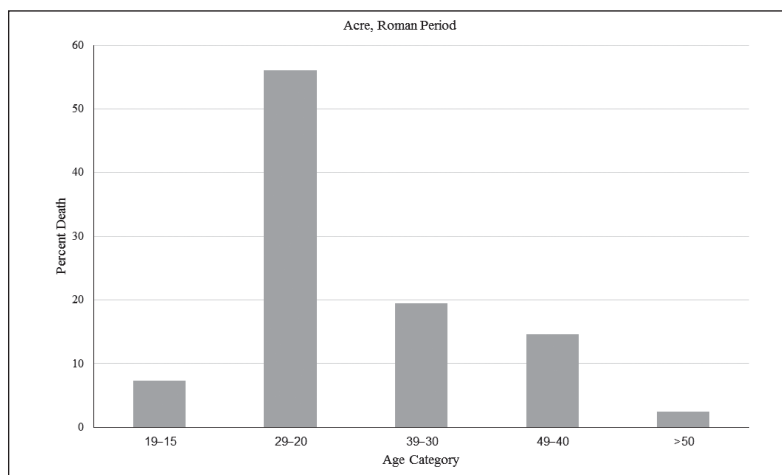


Figure 9. Adult age-at-death distribution in Roman Period Acre.

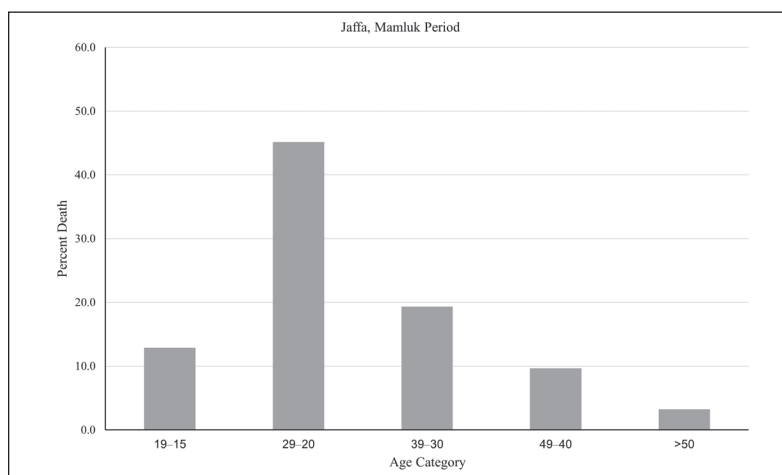


Figure 10. Adult age-at-death distribution in Mamluk Period Jaffa.

negate the ‘soldier hypothesis’ as an explanation to Qumran’s unusual demography.<sup>102</sup>

But could the Qumran sample represent a community of monks? Checking this option is only indirectly possible. Although no monasteries

<sup>102</sup> Our preliminary results of the pathological study further negate this hypothesis.



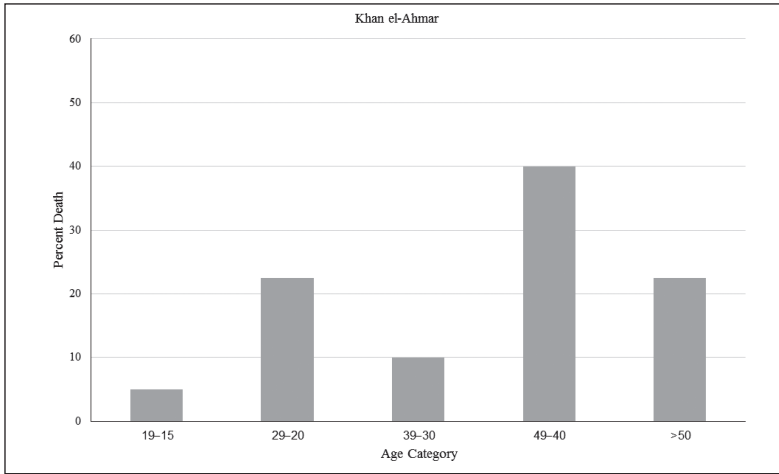


Figure 11. Adult age-at-death distribution in Khan el-Ahmar (Data after Eshed, *Palaeoanthropological Research on Four Byzantine Populations*, 86).

are known yet in early Roman period Israel, they abound in the succeeding Byzantine period. One is Khan el-Ahmar, also known as the monastery of St. Euthymius, founded some 400 years after the destruction of Qumran.<sup>103</sup> It lies some 15 km west of Khirbet Qumran, and shares comparable landscape and climate (see the location map, Figure 6). The cemetery associated with Khan el-Ahmar was extensively excavated, and as already mentioned earlier in this article, the relatively large skeletal sample included men only, no infants were present, and the proportion of children resembled that of Qumran. Although unfortunately no detailed figures of adult age-estimations are provided by HersHKovitz et al., they comment on the outstanding large proportion of elderly individuals in the adult sample, in which individuals who survive to the age of 40 or more constitute some 55% of the total adult population. This figure is very similar to the present statistics from Qumran, in which 59% of the adults reached the age of 40 or more. Alternatively, raw data with age-at-death estimations of 40 adults from the monastery of Khan el-Ahmar are provided by Eshed, who used the same age categories as in Table 5,<sup>104</sup> making it easily suitable for comparison. Displaying the results as a bar graph (Figure 11) highlights the similarity

<sup>103</sup> HersHKovitz et al., "The Human Remains."

<sup>104</sup> V. Eshed, *Paleoanthropological Research on Four Byzantine Populations*. M.Sc. Thesis, Tel-Aviv University, 1993.

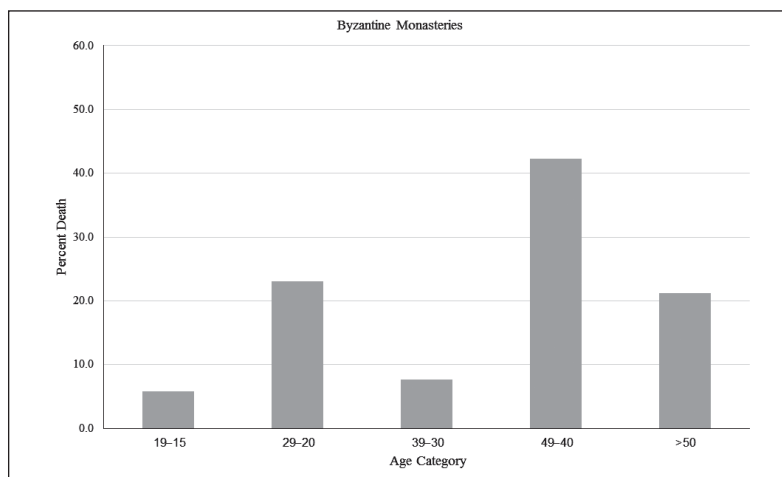


Figure 12. Combined adult age-at-death distribution from Khan el-Ahmar and Umm Leisun Byzantine-Period monasteries.

to the Qumran distribution presented earlier in Figure 7. Combining the Khan el-Ahmar results with data from Umm Leisun, the other Byzantine monastery mentioned above,<sup>105</sup> the sample size increases, but the overall shape of the bar graph and its similarity to Qumran remains clear (Figure 12). Estimations from the third monastery discussed above (Ḥora), are only given as minimal-age figures, thus could not be categorized into the narrow age cohorts and be used in this type of comparison.

## Summary and Conclusions

The remains of 33 skeletons that were found and studied in the winter of 2015/2016 excavation at the northern extension of Qumran's cemetery were analyzed and discussed in the present study (see the Appendix for a detailed description).

Generally, all the individuals were buried in the same manner, in north/south oriented Qumran-type graves, devoid of grave goods. The dead were primarily buried on their backs, in a north/south orientation with the head to the south. Three skeletons were lying, slightly bent, on their right side, since the body could not fit the length of the niche while supine. We assume that these graves were dug in advance, regardless

<sup>105</sup> Nagar, "The Skeletal Remains."

of the individual's stature. At least one arm of each individual was flexed, with the hand placed on either the pelvis, the abdomen, or the chest. Most graves were used for a single burial; however, tomb 1179 contained the remains of two individuals, tomb 1159 the remains of three individuals, and tomb 1156, as many as four. The remains of two individuals in this sample were found in secondary deposition, piled up in small rounded holes. This was attributed by us to a recent displacement of bones from "regular" Qumran-type tombs that were found during the un-supervised excavation works in 1984 at the northern border of the present excavation area.

Despite the poor state of preservation of some of the bones due to extensive irrigation at the upper level of the graveyard and bush root penetration into the graves, and despite the obligation to rebury the bones (most were left in their original tombs), the anthropological analysis yielded valuable new paleodemographic information, shedding new light on the biological history of the community that settled the most intriguing settlement of Khirbet Qumran. Several well-established methodologies for the estimations of age-at-death and sex provided us for the first time a bulk of information that could be used as a basis for a comprehensive paleodemographic discussion, and for a comparison with contemporary and geographically relevant skeletal samples, in order to put the conclusions in the right historical context.

The basic results presented in Table 1 offer simple preliminary interpretations, and can be summarized as follows: (1) No infants and children are found in the sample of 33 newly discovered human skeletons; (2) Adult age-at-death estimations span a wide range, with 59% of the individuals reaching the relatively advanced age of 40 or over; (3) Only males are represented. These results are markedly different from the expected demography of a regular, civilian, historic cemetery. Yet, although the primary results are straightforward, the sample was combined with additional data retrieved from previously held excavations of this site in order to increase the credibility of the conclusions. This integration was cautiously made, as some data published in the past were proved to be either mistaken or extremely unreliable. Therefore, for each specific parameter checked and discussed, a specific relevant sample was used, as listed in Tables 2, 3, 5. The combined data were analyzed and discussed in comparison with other relevant local osteological samples, and the conclusions are summarized below.

The sex-ratio in Qumran, formerly based on an unproved database, has been the subject of debates between those who view the inhabitants of this site as a sectarian group of males that maintained an ideology of celibacy, or as soldiers or craftsmen, and those who view Qumran as a

regular, non-exceptional site. Although in the past arguments have often favored the celibate male hypothesis, the data were not strict enough to satisfactorily prove or negate the ideas of either side. To create a firm database of reliably sexed skeletons from Qumran, any unproved estimation was ignored in the discussion above. Subsequently, when combined with the new data of the 2015/2016 excavation season, the sample of adult skeletons sexed by means of verified methodologies increased to 59 (Table 3). Among these, 54 males and five individuals of unknown sex were found, suggesting the burial of men only in the graves which contained skeletons that could be sexed. These results are meaningful for the dispute over the true nature of Qumran's community, and are striking enough to suggest a "men only" society. Yet, we do not claim total absence of women in this cemetery, primarily due to the fact that some skeletons could not be sexed. Besides, our sample in Table 3 does not include all the adult skeletons excavated at Qumran, and one cannot negate de Vaux's claim that he found burial objects usually associated with women. Even if such a presence is proved in future studies, a (theoretical) small number of women could be explained by different phases through the life-time of the settlement, or by other social circumstances, and would not change the overall picture.

The absence of infants in this historic cemetery population is an abnormality but was not emphasized enough in previous discussions, and the necessary differentiation between the presence of infants and that of children, was usually ignored. Since the only report of an infant was made by a journalist with no anthropological or archaeological background,<sup>106</sup> it could be considered as a possible mistake. Yet, even citing Steckholl's publication "as is" (as was actually done in the discussion above), one can convincingly claim that infants were absent from this exceptional community: The identification of at least 20 infants in the skeletal sample already accumulated at Qumran is needed to meet the norm.

The proportion of children in the Qumran skeletal population, although already noted in the past as lower than expected, was dramatically reduced with the inclusion of the newly discovered 33 adult-only individuals. It was proved to be significantly lower than the average in contemporary Israeli civilian cemeteries, suggesting a culturally induced phenomenon.

The age distribution of the adult individuals is also unusual when compared to the regular, civilian Jewish population of the time. Although not adequate to establish life-table based parameters which could

<sup>106</sup> Steckholl, "Preliminary Excavation Report."

be statistically inspected, the shape of the adult age-at-death pattern (Figure 7) was shown to differ markedly from both a regular, civilian Hellenistic-Roman period Jewish population (Figure 8), and from two military related cemetery populations, one contemporary and one Mamluk (Figures 9, 10), stressing the unusual nature of Qumran's community in this important aspect as well.

As if to highlight the exceptional nature of the Qumran skeletal population, as demonstrated in the discussion and conclusions above, a sample of 12 recently discovered individuals from a first-century BCE burial cave outside the nearby settlement of Ein Gedi,<sup>107</sup> demonstrates different demographic parameters that match the expected composition of a regular, civilian, historic village cemetery. Despite the fact that the Ein Gedi sample is much smaller than that of Qumran, and thus is prone to statistical bias, it included an infant, three children, and eight adults, four of them were estimated as females and one as a male.<sup>108</sup> What else could have explained this odd paleodemographic profile?

Despite the uniqueness of Qumran within its period, a later comparable skeletal population in close geographic proximity was found in the Byzantine-period monastery of Khan el-Ahmar. These two populations are alike in the absence of infants, the low proportion of children, the distinct shape of the adult age-at-death pattern, and the possible absence of women. Therefore, at least from a demographic perspective, the results of the present study strongly support the theories that view Qumran's population as representing a sectarian community, probably resembling in its ideology a monastic one, ahead of its time in the late Second Temple period.

### Acknowledgements

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<sup>107</sup> A. Ganor and S. Ganor, "A Burial Cave from the Second–First Century BCE near 'En Gedi," *'Atiqot* 84 (2016): 65\*–78\* (Hebrew), 126–127 (English).

<sup>108</sup> Y. Nagar, "Human Bones," *'Atiqot* 84 (2016): 76 (Hebrew).

## APPENDIX.

## CATALOGUE OF SKELETAL REMAINS AND THEIR DESCRIPTION

**Locus 1050**

A pit grave oriented north/south, with a niche protruding to the east. It contained a relatively complete human skeleton in primary burial. The dead was placed in the north/south orientation, head to the north. The body is slightly inclined on its right side, a posture possibly dictated by the insufficient length of the shaft that was already made in advance. In the skull, the glabella and eyebrows, and the mastoid process are relatively pronounced (Figure 13a), a morphology indicative of a male;<sup>109</sup> the sutures are fused at their endocranial aspect only. In the upper jaw, the incisors show attrition in the shape of dentine cup; a canine shows attrition in the shape of deep dentine cup; a premolar shows attrition in the shape of dentine cup in one of the cusps; a first molar shows attrition in the shape of a dentine cup in two cusps; a second molar shows dentine exposure in two cusps. In the lower jaw, a premolar shows dentine exposure in one cusp; first and second molars show attrition in the shape of a dentine cup in all the cusps. Age at death, based on tooth-attrition stages, is estimated as 30–45 years.<sup>110</sup> In the postcranial skeleton, the medial clavicular epiphysis is fused, indicative of an individual aged >25 years;<sup>111</sup> the pelvic sciatic notch and the symphyseal angle are relatively narrow, a morphology indicative of a male;<sup>112</sup> chronological changes in the symphysis pubis



Figure 13. L. 1050. A. The frontal bone. B. The right femur.

<sup>109</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 82.

<sup>110</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.

<sup>111</sup> Szilvassy, “Age Determination of the Clavicle.”

<sup>112</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 208.



are indicative of an individual aged 20–40 years;<sup>113</sup> the auricular surface shows slight striation, with no noticeable changes in the apex area, typical of an individual aged 25–35 years;<sup>114</sup> the vertebral ring epiphyses are fused, no lipping or osteophytes are noticed. The vertical diameter of the proximal head of the femur is measured as 45, 46 mm (right and left side, respectively; Figure 13b), while the epicondylar width of the distal humerus is measured as 63 mm: These measurements are typical of a male.<sup>115</sup>

### Locus 1061

A pit grave oriented north/south, with a niche protruding to the east, covered by inclined slabs. It contained a human skeleton in primary burial. The dead was placed on its back, in the north/south orientation, head to the south; the arms are slightly flexed, with the hands placed on the pelvis (Figure 14). Although the skull is fragmentary, it is possible to observe that some bones are separated along the un-fused sutures, typical of an individual aged <40 years.<sup>116</sup> The glabella and eyebrows, mastoid process, and the superior nuchal line are moderately pronounced, a morphology indicative of a male?<sup>117</sup> A piece of calcified thyroid cartilage was found, of a size and shape typical of an individual aged 30–50 years.<sup>118</sup> In the upper jaw (left fragment only), the incisors and canine show attrition in the shape of dentine cup; the first premolar shows attrition in the shape of dentine cup in one of the cusps; the second premolar shows attrition in the shape of deep dentine cup in one of the cusps. Age at death, based on tooth-attrition stages, is estimated as 35–50 years.<sup>119</sup> The lower jaw is relatively robust, and the chin contour is relatively square, a morphology indicative of a male. In the postcranial skeleton, the sternal end of the



Figure 14. L. 1061. A primary burial of an adult in a side niche.

<sup>113</sup> Stage II, following Brooks and Suchey, “Skeletal Age Determination.”

<sup>114</sup> Lovejoy et al., “Chronological Metamorphosis of the Auricular Surface.”

<sup>115</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 153, 230.

<sup>116</sup> Hershkovitz et al., “Why Do We Fail in Aging.”

<sup>117</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 82.

<sup>118</sup> Loth and Iscan, “The Thoracic Region.”

<sup>119</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.

first rib shows degenerative processes, while chronological changes in the sternal end of other ribs are indicative of an individual aged 40–55 years;<sup>120</sup> Some cervical, thoracic, and lumbar vertebrae show osteophytes larger than 1 mm, typical of an individual aged >40 years.<sup>121</sup> The vertical diameter of the proximal head of the femur is measured as 42 mm, however, the bone's surface is slightly deteriorated, thus its actual measurement must be ca. 1 mm larger (i.e. 43 mm), a measurement scaled between male and female averages.<sup>122</sup>

## Locus 1062

A relatively deep pit grave (at least 3.15 m in depth), oriented north/south, lined by mud walls. It contained a partially preserved human skeleton in primary burial (Figure 15), put in an elaborated wooden coffin whose walls had already deteriorated.<sup>123</sup> The dead was placed on its back, in the north/south orientation, head in the south. The arms are slightly flexed, with the hands placed on the pelvis. The skull is fragmentary, but it is possible to see that the mastoid process is markedly developed, a morphology indicative of a male.<sup>124</sup> The lower jaw shows morphology indicative of a male: the gonial angle is relatively straight with visible muscle markings, and the ascending ramus is relatively wide.<sup>125</sup> The left lateral incisor was lost ante-mortem, the other incisor shows attrition in the shape of deep dentine cupping, the left second molar shows



Figure 15. L. 1062. A primary burial of an adult, at the bottom of the pit (length: 2.1 m, width 0.6 m). The body is surrounded by metal fixtures of an already decayed wooden coffin.

<sup>120</sup> Stage V, following Loth and Iscan, “The Thoracic Region.”

<sup>121</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 20–21.

<sup>122</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 230.

<sup>123</sup> A description of the remains of the large wooden coffin and reconstruction of its beautiful decoration are in preparation, and will be presented in a future publication. We believe that the person interred in this unique tomb had a status higher than the rest of the individuals in our sample.

<sup>124</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 82.

<sup>125</sup> Loth and Henneberg, “Mandibular Ramus Flexure.”



Figure 16. L. 1062. A lower cervical vertebra manifesting osteophytes and porosity, indicative of an old age.

attrition in the shape of a dentine cup in all cusps, while the right third molar shows attrition of about half a crown's size. Age at death, based on tooth-attrition stages, is estimated as >50 years.<sup>126</sup> In the postcranial skeleton, the lower cervical vertebrae show degenerative processes in the shape of porosity and collapse of the articular surface, typical of an old individual (Figure 16).<sup>127</sup> The vertical diameter of the proximal head of the femur is measured as 44 mm (right side), a measurement scaled between male and female averages.<sup>128</sup>

#### Locus 1074

A pit grave oriented north/south, with a niche protruding to the east. It contained a poorly preserved human skeleton in primary burial. The dead was placed on its back, in the north/south orientation, head to the south. The arms are slightly flexed, with the hands placed on the pelvis. A superficial layer of red stain<sup>129</sup> is noticeable on a temporal bone, the mandible, the right humerus, the distal part of the left tibia, and several phalanges (Figure 17). The skull is fragmentary, but it is possible to see that the mastoid process is very pronounced, a morphology indicative of a male.<sup>130</sup> In the lower jaw (left fragment), the second premolar and first molar were lost ante-mortem; the right first and

<sup>126</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.

<sup>127</sup> T. Waldron, "The Prevalence of, and the Relationship Between some Spinal Diseases in a Human Skeletal Population from London," *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 1 (1991): 103–110.

<sup>128</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 230.

<sup>129</sup> Red stains of an uncertain nature were noticed on some of the bones. Samples were taken for a chemical analysis.

<sup>130</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 82.



Figure 17. L. 1074. A thoracic vertebra showing osteophytes, a first metatarsal showing deformity and eburnation of the distal head, and a fragment of the mandible covered by red stain.

second molars show dentine exposure in three cusps; the third molar shows dentine exposure in one cusp. Age at death, based on tooth-attribution stages, is estimated as 30–40 years.<sup>131</sup> In the postcranial skeleton, the iliac crest epiphysis is fused, indicative of an adult aged >20 years;<sup>132</sup> a thoracic vertebra shows an osteophyte larger than 1 mm (Figure 17), and a medial aspect of a rib manifests porosity and deformation, indicative of an individual aged >30 years;<sup>133</sup> the pelvic sciatic notch is relatively narrow, a morphology indicative of a male;<sup>134</sup> The vertical diameter of the proximal head of the femur is measured as 48 mm, a measurement typical of a male.<sup>135</sup>

### Locus 1087

A pit grave oriented north/south, with a niche protruding to the east. It contained a partially preserved human skeleton in primary burial (Figure 18). The dead was placed on its back, in the north/south orientation, head to the south. The right arm is stretched alongside the body; the left arm is flexed, with the hand placed on the abdomen. The skull and jaws are completely

<sup>131</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.

<sup>132</sup> Johnston and Zimmer, “Assessment of Growth and Age.”

<sup>133</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 20.

<sup>134</sup> Rogers and Saunders, “Accuracy of Sex Determination.”

<sup>135</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 230.



Figure 18. L. 1087. A primary burial of an adult in a side niche.

deteriorated; however, it was noticed that epiphyses in the long bones and the ring epiphysis in the vertebrae are fused, indicative of an individual aged  $20 <$  years.<sup>136</sup> Most vertebrae show lipping along their articular margins, yet no osteophytes are visible, possibly indicative of an individual aged 30–60 years old. The vertical diameter of the proximal head of the femur is measured as 46 mm, a measurement indicative of a male.<sup>137</sup>

### Locus 1156

A pit grave oriented north/south, with the remains of 4 individuals at its bottom. It included three partially preserved human skeletons in primary burial, and a few remains of another individual whose bones were nearly completely deteriorated.

In the east side were the remains of an articulated skeleton (B.10236), placed on its back, in the north/south orientation, head to the south. The arms are slightly flexed, with the hands placed on the pelvis. In the skull vault, the sutures are closed in few points, indicative of an individual aged  $30 <$  years;<sup>138</sup> The mastoid process is markedly pronounced, a morphology indicative of a male.<sup>139</sup> An upper incisor shows attrition in the shape of dentine cup. In the lower jaw, the first right molar was lost ante-mortem; the premolars show attrition in the shape of dentine cup in one of the cusps; the first left molar shows attrition in the shape of deep dentine cup in two of the cusps. Age at death, based on tooth-attrition stages, is estimated as 30–50 years.<sup>140</sup> In the pelvis, the symphyseal angle is relatively narrow, a morphology indicative of a male;<sup>141</sup> chronological changes in the symphysis pubis are indicative of an individual

<sup>136</sup> Johnston and Zimmer, “Assessment of Growth and Age.”

<sup>137</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 230.

<sup>138</sup> Herskovitz et al., “Why Do We Fail in Aging.”

<sup>139</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 82.

<sup>140</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.

<sup>141</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 208.





Figure 19. L. 1156. The posterior parts of an adult skull.  
Notice relatively developed superior nuchal line and  
some porosity on the occipital and parietal bones.

aged 35–60 years;<sup>142</sup> the auricular surface manifests porosity on the surface, and lipping of its margins, typical of an individual aged 50< years.<sup>143</sup> In the spine, some lumbar vertebrae manifest osteophytes larger than 2 mm, while in the cervix, large osteophytes are noticed along the ventral aspect of seven vertebrae in a row, causing fusion of at least two adjacent vertebrae,<sup>144</sup> indicative of an individual aged 50< years.<sup>145</sup> The vertical diameter of the proximal head of the femur is measured as 48, 47 mm (right and left sides, respectively), indicative of a male,<sup>146</sup> while lipping of the rims of the fovea is suggestive of its old age.

In the west side were the remains of two articulated skeletons, one on top of the other:

The upper skeleton (B.10233) was placed on its back, in the north/south orientation, head to the south; the legs are crossed: the left over the right one. In the skull, the glabella and eyebrows, the mastoid process and the superior nuchal line are pronounced, a morphology indicative of a male<sup>147</sup> (Figure 19). In the

<sup>142</sup> Stage V, following Brooks and Suchey, “Skeletal Age Determination.

<sup>143</sup> Lovejoy et al., “Chronological Metamorphosis of the Auricular Surface.”

<sup>144</sup> This is probably the result of a pathological condition (*DISH*), to be discussed in a future publication.

<sup>145</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 20.

<sup>146</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 230.

<sup>147</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 82.



upper jaw, a central incisor shows attrition in the shape of dentine cup; two premolars show marked enamel attrition. In the lower jaw (right side), the first and third molars were lost ante-mortem; an incisor shows dentine exposure; the canine shows attrition in the shape of dentine cup; and the second molar shows attrition in the shape of dentine cup in all of the cusps. Age at death, based on tooth-attrition stages, is estimated as 30–50 years.<sup>148</sup> In the vertebrae, the ring epiphyses are fused, but no lipping or osteophytes are noticed, indicative of an individual aged 20–50 years.<sup>149</sup> The vertical diameter of the proximal head of the femur is measured as 43 mm, and the epicondylar width of the distal humerus is measured as 60 mm: These measurements are scaled between male and female averages.<sup>150</sup>

The lower skeleton (B.10234) was placed on its back, in the north/south orientation, head to the south. In the skull, the mastoid process is moderately pronounced. In the postcranial skeleton, the symphyseal angle is relatively narrow, a morphology indicative of a male;<sup>151</sup> chronological changes in the symphysis pubis are indicative of an individual aged 30–50 years;<sup>152</sup> the vertebral ring epiphyses are fused, and osteophytes larger than 1 mm are noticed, indicative of an individual aged >40 years.<sup>153</sup> The vertical diameter of the proximal head of the femur is measured as 48 mm, and the epicondylar width of the distal humerus is measured as 60 mm: These measurements are indicative of a male.<sup>154</sup>

The fourth skeleton (B.10235) was disturbed by the burial on top of it and most of its bones completely deteriorated, so its original posture could not be reconstructed. It is identified by a few skeletal elements only: These include a left fragment of a lower jaw, in which the first molar shows dentine exposure in one cusp and the second molar shows enamel attrition, characteristic of an individual aged 15–25 years;<sup>155</sup> a vertebra in which the ring epiphysis is only partially fused, indicative of a young individual aged 18–25 years;<sup>156</sup> and a clavicle in which the medial epiphysis is not fused, typical of an individual aged <25 years.<sup>157</sup>

## Locus 1157

A pit grave oriented north/south, with a niche protruding to the east. It contained a relatively complete human skeleton in primary burial (Figure 20). The dead was placed on its back, in the north/south orientation, head to the south. The right arm is stretched alongside the body; the left arm is flexed, with the hand placed on the abdomen. In the skull, the glabella and eyebrows,

<sup>148</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.

<sup>149</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 20–21.

<sup>150</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 151, 219.

<sup>151</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 208.

<sup>152</sup> Stage IV, following Brooks and Suchey, “Skeletal Age Determination.”

<sup>153</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 20–21.

<sup>154</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 153, 230.

<sup>155</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.

<sup>156</sup> Johnston and Zimmer, “Assessment of Growth and Age.”

<sup>157</sup> Szilvassy, “Age Determination on the Clavícula.”



Figure 20. L. 1157. The skull in situ. Notice the relatively pronounced eyebrows and the mandibular gonial eversion.

and the mastoid process are relatively pronounced, a morphology indicative of a male;<sup>158</sup> the cranial sutures are closed at a few spots, indicative of an individual aged >30 years.<sup>159</sup> In the upper jaw, the left first molar is lost ante-mortem; the second molar shows attrition of about half the crown's height. In the lower jaw (right side fragment), the ascending ramus is relatively wide and erect, and muscle markings are noticeable around the gonial area, a morphology typical of a male;<sup>160</sup> the first molar shows attrition in the shape of dentine cup in all the cusps, the second and third molars show attrition in the shape of dentine cup in two cusps. Age at death, based on tooth-attrition stages, is estimated as 50–60 years.<sup>161</sup> In the postcranial skeleton, the symphyseal angle is relatively narrow, morphology indicative of a male;<sup>162</sup> one cervical vertebra manifests porosity of the articular surface, and a lumbar vertebra shows an osteophyte measured as ca. 1.5 mm, indicative of an individual aged 50< years.<sup>163</sup> The vertical diameter of the proximal head of the femur is measured as 48 mm (right side), a measurement typical of a male.<sup>164</sup>

### Locus 1159

A pit grave oriented north/south, with two niches, protruding to the east and to the west. It included the remains of three skeletons in primary burial (Figure 21).

<sup>158</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 82.

<sup>159</sup> Herskovitz et al., "Why Do We Fail in Aging."

<sup>160</sup> Loth and Henneberg, "Mandibular Ramus Flexure."

<sup>161</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.

<sup>162</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 208.

<sup>163</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 20–21.

<sup>164</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 230.



Figure 21. L. 1159. Communal burial of three articulated skeletons:  
in the western niche (10212), in the center of the pit (10213),  
and in the eastern niche (10214).

In the western niche were the remains of an articulated skeleton (B.10212), placed on its back, in the north/south orientation, head to the south. The right arm is slightly flexed, with the hand placed on the pelvis; the left arm is flexed, with the hand placed on the chest. In the skull, the glabella and eyebrows are





Figure 22. L. 1159. The mandible of the central individual (B.10213), with patches of red stain. Notice the chin contour and the robust ascending ramus, tooth attrition, and antemortem tooth-loss (The incisors were found separately).

not pronounced, a morphology typical of a female;<sup>165</sup> the coronal suture is closed, indicative of an individual aged >35 years.<sup>166</sup> The lower jaw is robust, the chin contour is relatively square, the ascending ramus is wide and straight and manifests pronounced marked muscle markings around the gonial angle, a morphology indicative of a male.<sup>167</sup> In the postcranial skeleton, the vertebral ring epiphyses and the iliac crest are fused; the sternal end of a rib shows no billowing or bony projections, typical of an individual aged 25–40 years.<sup>168</sup> The vertical diameter of the proximal head of the femur is measured as 50 mm, a measurement indicative of a male.<sup>169</sup>

At the bottom of the pit, in the center, were the remains of an articulated skeleton (B.10213), placed on its back, in the north/south orientation, head to the south. The legs are crossed: the left over the right one. Superficial layers of red stain were noticed on the mandible (Figure 22) and the temporal bones, and on the right fibula and foot bones. In the skull, the glabella and eyebrows are relatively pronounced, a morphology indicative of a male.<sup>170</sup> In the upper

<sup>165</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 82.

<sup>166</sup> HersHKovitz et al., “Why Do We Fail in Aging.”

<sup>167</sup> Loth and Henneberg, “Mandibular Ramus Flexure.”

<sup>168</sup> Stage IV–V, following Loth and Iscan, “The Thoracic Region.”

<sup>169</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 230.

<sup>170</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 82.



Figure 23. L. 1159. The right lower limb of the central individual (B.10213), manifesting periostitis in both the tibia and the fibula.

jaw, a central incisor shows attrition in the shape of dentine cup; a lateral incisor shows dentine exposure; the first and second premolars show attrition in the shape of dentine cup in one of the cusps. In the lower jaw, the second molars were lost ante-mortem; a central incisor shows attrition in the shape of dentine cup; a canine shows dentine exposure; a second premolar shows dentine exposure in one cusp; and a first molar shows dentine cup in all the cusps (Figure 22). Age at death, based on tooth-attribution stages, is estimated as 30–40 years.<sup>171</sup> In the postcranial skeleton, the iliac crest and the vertebral ring epiphyses are fused, and slight lipping is noticeable in the thoracic vertebrae; the sternal end of a rib shows small bony projection on the articular surface, typical of an individual aged >35 years.<sup>172</sup> The vertical diameter of the proximal head of the femur is measured as 44 mm (right side), and the epicondylar width of the distal humerus is measured as 59 mm (left side): These measurements are scaled between male and female averages.<sup>173</sup> In the lower limb, the right tibia and fibula manifest patches of reactive bone, evident of periostitis (Figure 23).

In the eastern niche were the remains of an articulated skeleton (B.10214), placed on its back, in the north/south orientation, head to the south. The right arm is slightly flexed, with the hand placed on the pelvis; the left arm is flexed, with the hand placed on the chest. A superficial layer of red stain is noticeable on the temporal bone, the right fibula, and the lower limb phalanges. In the skull, the lambdoid suture is closed, indicative of an individual aged 35 < years;<sup>174</sup> the glabella and eyebrows are moderately pronounced, while the mastoid process and the superior nuchal line are markedly developed (Figure 24), a morphology indicative of a male.<sup>175</sup> In the upper jaw, the

<sup>171</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.

<sup>172</sup> Stage V, following Loth and Iscan, “The Thoracic Region.”

<sup>173</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 153, 230.

<sup>174</sup> Hershkovitz et al., “Why Do We Fail in Aging.”

<sup>175</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 82.



Figure 24. L. 1159. Skull fragments of the eastern skeleton (B.10214). Notice the developed mastoid process in the temporal bone, and suture closure and protruding inion in the posterior part of the cranium.

incisors show attrition in the shape of dentine cup; while the crowns of the left molars are deteriorated following advanced caries. In the lower jaw, the ascending ramus is relatively wide and straight, a morphology indicative of a male;<sup>176</sup> the first molars were lost ante-mortem; the incisors and a canine show attrition in the shape of dentine cup, and the second molar shows dentine cup in all of the cusps. Age at death, based on tooth-attribution stages, is estimated as 40–50 years.<sup>177</sup> In the vertebral column, the ring epiphyses are fused, but no osteophytes are noticed, indicative of an individual aged 20–50 years. In the pelvis, the symphyseal angle is relatively narrow, a morphology indicative of a male;<sup>178</sup> chronological changes in the symphysis pubis are indicative of an individual aged 25–45 years.<sup>179</sup> The vertical diameter of the proximal head of the femur is measured as 46, 47 mm (right and left sides, respectively): These measurements are indicative of a male.<sup>180</sup>

<sup>176</sup> Loth and Henneberg, “Mandibular Ramus Flexure.”

<sup>177</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.

<sup>178</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 208.

<sup>179</sup> Stages II–III, following Brooks and Suchey, “Skeletal Age Determination.”

<sup>180</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 230.





Figure 25. L. 1161. A fibular shaft with red-stain, and a cervical vertebra (lower surface) showing porosity and large osteophytes.

### Locus 1161

A pit grave oriented north/south, with a niche protruding to the east. It contained a poorly preserved human skeleton in primary burial. The dead was placed on its back, in the north/south orientation, head in the south. The arms are slightly flexed with the hands placed on the pelvis. Superficial layers of red stain were noticed on the mandible (Figure 25) and the temporal bones, and on the left humerus and a fibula. Although the skull is fragmentary, it was noticed that some bones are separated along open sutures, indicative of an individual aged <40 years.<sup>181</sup> The glabella and eyebrows, and the mastoid process are relatively pronounced, a morphology indicative of a male.<sup>182</sup> In the lower jaw (left side fragment), the second premolar, and the first and second molars, were lost ante-mortem, while the third molar, manifesting a big hole due to caries, is about to fall; an incisor shows attrition of about half the crown's height, typical of an individual aged >50 years.<sup>183</sup> In the vertebral column, cervical and thoracic vertebrae show porosity of the articular surface and lipping of the rim or osteophytes larger than 2 mm, indicative of an individual aged >50 years<sup>184</sup> (Figure 25). The vertical diameter of the proximal head of the femur is measured as 47 mm (right side), a measurement indicative of a male;<sup>185</sup> lipping of the rim of the fovea was also noticed, indicative of an old age.

<sup>181</sup> Hershkovitz et al., "Why Do We Fail in Aging."

<sup>182</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 82.

<sup>183</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.

<sup>184</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 20–21; Waldron, "Spinal Diseases."

<sup>185</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 230.

### Locus 1164

A pit grave oriented north/south, with a niche protruding to the east, covered by inclined slabs. It contained a partially preserved human skeleton in primary burial. The dead was placed on its back, in the north/south orientation, head to the south. The arms are stretched alongside the body. Although the skull is fragmentary, it is possible to observe that the glabella and eyebrows are markedly pronounced, a morphology indicative of a male.<sup>186</sup> A piece of calcified thyroid cartilage is of a size and shape typical of an individual aged 30–50 years.<sup>187</sup> In the lower jaw, marked muscle-markings are visible around the gonial angle; a canine shows attrition in the shape of deep dentine cup, and three premolars show dentine exposure in one cusp. The upper teeth include a central incisor, manifesting deep dentine cup, and a second premolar, manifesting dentine cup in both cusps. Age at death, based on tooth-attrition stages, is estimated as 40–50 years.<sup>188</sup> In the postcranial skeleton, a lumbar vertebra manifests lipping of the articular rim; chronological changes in the symphysis pubis are indicative of an individual aged 25–50 years,<sup>189</sup> however, the bone is broken and only part of it is visible. The vertical diameter of the proximal head of the femur is measured as 46 mm (right side), a measurement indicative of a male.<sup>190</sup> In the lower limb, both tibiae manifest patches of reactive bone, evident of periostitis.

### Locus 1166

A pit grave oriented north/south. It contained a poorly preserved human skeleton in primary burial. The dead was placed on its back, in the north/south orientation, head to the south. The right arm is stretched alongside the body; the left arm is slightly flexed, with the hand placed on the pelvis. A small patch of red stain is noticeable on the left fibula (Figure 26). Although the skull is fragmentary, it is possible to observe that the superior nuchal line andinion are markedly pronounced, a morphology indicative of a male;<sup>191</sup> suture closure is advanced, indicative of an individual aged >40 years.<sup>192</sup> In the upper jaw, a second premolar shows attrition in the shape of dentine cup in both cusps. In the lower jaw, the first molar is lost ante-mortem; a second molar shows attrition in the shape of shallow dentine cup in one cusp. Age at death, based on tooth-attrition stages, is estimated as 30–50 years.<sup>193</sup> In the postcranial skeleton, the vertical diameter of the proximal head of the femur is measured as 45 mm (left side; Figure 26), a measurement indicative of a male?<sup>194</sup>

<sup>186</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 82.

<sup>187</sup> Loth and Iscan, “The Thoracic Region.”

<sup>188</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.

<sup>189</sup> Stages II–IV, following Brooks and Suchey, “Skeletal Age Determination.”

<sup>190</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 230.

<sup>191</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 82.

<sup>192</sup> Hershkovitz et al., “Why Do We Fail in Aging.”

<sup>193</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.

<sup>194</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 230.



Figure 26. L. 1166. The left proximal femur and fibular shaft.

### Locus 1168

A pit grave oriented north/south, with a niche protruding to the east, covered by inclined slabs. It contained a relatively complete human skeleton in primary burial (Figure 27). The dead was placed on its back, in the north/south orientation, head to the south. The arms are slightly flexed, with the hands placed on the pelvis. A superficial layer of red stain is noticeable on the right fibula. In the skull, the glabella and brow ridges are markedly pronounced, a morphology indicative of a male;<sup>195</sup> the sutures are closed in few points, typical of an individual aged >30 years.<sup>196</sup> In the upper jaw, a canine, and first and second premolars, show attrition of about half the crown's height; the left first molar shows attrition of over half the crown's height. The lower jaw is robust, the chin contour is relatively square, and it manifests marked muscle markings around the gonial angle, a morphology indicative of a male;<sup>197</sup> the left first molar is lost ante-mortem; a second molar shows dentine exposure in three cusps. Age at death, based on tooth-attrition stages, is estimated as >50 years.<sup>198</sup> In the postcranial skeleton, lipping along the rims of some cervical and thoracic vertebrae is noticed, but no osteophyte growth; the auricular surface is granular,

<sup>195</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 82.

<sup>196</sup> Hershkovitz et al., "Why Do We Fail in Aging."

<sup>197</sup> Loth and Henneberg, "Mandibular Ramus Flexure."

<sup>198</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.

with no noticeable porosity, typical of an individual aged 35–40 years.<sup>199</sup> The vertical diameter of the proximal head of the femur is measured as 49 mm (right and left sides): measurements indicative of a male;<sup>200</sup> lipping of the rims of the fovea and some porosity of the articular surface were also noticed, indicative of an old age.

### Locus 1170

A pit grave oriented north/south. It contained a poorly preserved human skeleton in primary burial (Figure 27). The dead was placed on its back, in the north/south orientation, head to the south. The arms are slightly flexed, with the hands placed on the pelvis. Although the skull is fragmentary, it is possible to observe that the glabella and brow ridges are relatively developed, indicative of a male;<sup>201</sup> some bones are separated along open sutures, typical of an individual aged <40 years.<sup>202</sup> Upper teeth included an incisor, manifesting dentine cup, and a canine manifesting deep dentine cup. Lower teeth included an incisor and a canine, manifesting dentine cup; right first molar, manifesting dentine exposure in one of the cusps; and right second molar manifesting enamel attrition. Age at death, based on tooth-attrition stages, is estimated as >50 years.<sup>203</sup> In the postcranial skeleton, the iliac crest and the vertebral ring epiphyses are



Figure 27. L. 1168, 1170. Primary burials of two adult skeletons.

<sup>199</sup> Lovejoy et al., “Chronological Metamorphosis of the Auricular Surface.”

<sup>200</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 230.

<sup>201</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 82.

<sup>202</sup> Hershkovitz et al., “Why Do We Fail in Aging.”

<sup>203</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.

fused, but no osteophytes are noticed, indicative of an individual aged 20–50 years.<sup>204</sup> The vertical diameter of the proximal head of the femur is measured as 44 mm (left side), a measurement scaled between male and female averages.<sup>205</sup>

### Locus 1174

A pit grave oriented north/south, whose upper part had been destroyed completely. It contained a poorly preserved human skeleton in primary burial, badly damaged from penetration of roots. The body is slightly inclined on its right side, in the north/south orientation, head to the south. The right arm is stretched alongside the body; the left arm is flexed, with the hand placed on the chest. In the skull, the glabella and eyebrows, and the mastoid process, are moderately pronounced, a morphology indicative of a male?;<sup>206</sup> the cranial sutures manifest advanced closure, indicative of an individual aged 40< years.<sup>207</sup> An upper second molar shows attrition in the shape of dentine cup in two cusps; a third molar shows enamel attrition only. In the lower jaw, the left first and second molars, and the right posterior teeth were all lost ante-mortem; the right canine shows attrition in the shape of deep dentine cup. Age at death, based on dental markers, is estimated as >40 years.<sup>208</sup> In the postcranial skeleton, the symphyseal angle is relatively narrow, a morphology indicative of a male;<sup>209</sup> chronological changes in the symphysis pubis are indicative of an individual aged 40–50 years;<sup>210</sup> a cervical vertebra shows fused epiphyses, but no osteophytes are noticed, typical of an individual aged 20–50 years.<sup>211</sup> The vertical diameter of the proximal head of the femur is measured as 44 mm (right side), a measurement scaled between male and female averages.<sup>212</sup>

### Locus 1178

A pit grave oriented north/south, whose upper part was completely destroyed. It contained a well-preserved skull, but poorly preserved postcranial skeleton in primary burial (Figure 28). The dead was placed on its back, in the north/south orientation, head to the south. The arms are slightly flexed, with the hands placed on the pelvis. A superficial layer of red stain is noticeable on the feet and sporadic areas of the other lower limb bones. In the skull, the glabella and eyebrows, mastoid process, and the inion are relatively

<sup>204</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 20–21; Johnston and Zimmer, “Assessment of Growth and Age.”

<sup>205</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 230.

<sup>206</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 82.

<sup>207</sup> Hershkovitz et al., “Why Do We Fail in Aging.”

<sup>208</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.

<sup>209</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 208.

<sup>210</sup> Stage V, following Brooks and Suchey, “Skeletal Age Determination.”

<sup>211</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 21.

<sup>212</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 230.





Figure 28. L. 1178. A. The skeleton in situ. B. The frontal bone.

pronounced, a morphology indicative of a male;<sup>213</sup> the sutures are closed in a few points, indicative of an individual aged 30< years.<sup>214</sup> In the upper jaw, a canine shows attrition in the shape of a dentine cup; first and second pre-molars show attrition in the shape of a dentine cup in both cusps; the first

<sup>213</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 82.

<sup>214</sup> HersHKovitz et al., "Why Do We Fail in Aging."

molar shows dentine cupping in all the cusps; the second molar shows dentine cupping in one of the cusps; the third molar shows enamel attrition only. The lower jaw is relatively robust, the gonial angle and the ascending ramus are relatively straight, a morphology characteristic of a male;<sup>215</sup> a central incisor shows dentine exposure; a lateral incisor shows attrition in the shape of dentine cup; a first molar shows dentine cup in all the cusps. Age at death, based on tooth-attrition stages, is estimated as 30–50 years.<sup>216</sup> In the postcranial skeleton, the medial epiphysis of the clavicle is fused, indicative of an individual aged 25 < years;<sup>217</sup> chronological changes in the sternal end of ribs are indicative of an individual aged 25–45 years;<sup>218</sup> no vertebral osteophytes are noticed, typical of an individual aged <50 years.<sup>219</sup> The vertical diameter of the proximal head of the femur is measured as 46, 47 mm (right and left sides, respectively), measurements indicative of a male.<sup>220</sup>

### Locus 1179

A pit grave oriented north/south, whose bottom is covered by inclined slabs. The slab covers were broken, as the tomb was probably opened in the course of time. It included human bones found both above and beneath the inner cover stones of this pit (the skulls mainly above the long bones), suggesting the burial was disturbed sometime in the past (Figure 29).

The remains of a skull and a lower jaw fragment were discovered on the west side of the grave (B.20201). The glabella and the superior nuchal line are relatively pronounced, a morphology indicative of a male;<sup>221</sup> the sutures are closed in few points, indicative of an individual aged >30 years.<sup>222</sup> In the lower jaw (right side fragment), the first and second molars were lost antemortem; first upper molar shows attrition of over half the crown's height, indicative of an individual aged >50 years<sup>223</sup> (Figure 30a).

On the east side of the grave (B.20202) were the remains of another skull vault. In the skull, the glabella and the superior nuchal line are moderately pronounced, a morphology indicative of a male(?);<sup>224</sup> the sutures are still open, indicative of an individual aged <40 years.<sup>225</sup>

B.20197 and B.20203 includes the postcranial bones of the two individuals described above. The bones were fragmentary and the two individuals could not be sorted apart. Diagnostic elements included thoracic vertebrae,

<sup>215</sup> Loth and Henneberg, "Mandibular Ramus Flexure."

<sup>216</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.

<sup>217</sup> Szilvassy, "Age Determination of the Clavicle."

<sup>218</sup> Stage IV–V, following Loth and Iscan, "The Thoracic Region."

<sup>219</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 20–21.

<sup>220</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 230.

<sup>221</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 82.

<sup>222</sup> Hershkovitz et al., "Why Do We Fail in Aging."

<sup>223</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.

<sup>224</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 82.

<sup>225</sup> Hershkovitz et al., "Why Do We Fail in Aging."





Figure 29. L. 1179. Disturbed burial with the remains of two skulls.



Figure 30. L. 1179. A. A lower jaw (right-side fragment).

B. Thoracic vertebrae with small osteophytes.

C. Two right-side proximal femora, suggesting two adult males.

showing fused ring epiphyses and small osteophytes (Figure 30b), and two proximal femora (right side), whose vertical heads are measured as 48 and 45 mm (Figure 30c), indicative of two males.<sup>226</sup>

### Locus 1180

A pit grave oriented north/south, with a niche protruding to the east, covered by inclined slabs (Figure 4). It contained a relatively complete human skeleton in primary burial (Figure 31). The dead was placed on its back, in the north/south orientation, head to the south. The right arm is stretched alongside the body, the left arm is slightly flexed, with the hand placed on the pelvis. In the skull (Figure 32), the glabella and eyebrows, and the mastoid process, are moderately pronounced, morphology indicative of a male(?);<sup>227</sup> the sutures are closed at a few points, indicative of an individual aged >30 years.<sup>228</sup> In the upper jaw, the transverse and posterior median palatine sutures are partially closed, indicative of an individual aged >40 years.<sup>229</sup> In the lower jaw, a canine shows attrition in the shape of dentine cupping; the first premolar shows a dentine cup in one of the cusps; the first molar shows a dentine cup in all the cusps; the second molar shows a shallow dentine cup in one of the cusps. Age at death, based on tooth-attrition stages, is estimated as 30–40 years.<sup>230</sup> In the postcranial skeleton, no vertebral osteophytes are noticed, typical of an individual aged <50 years;<sup>231</sup> chronological changes in the sternal end of ribs are indicative of an individual aged 25–40 years;<sup>232</sup> the pelvic sciatic



Figure 31. L. 1180. A primary burial of an adult.

<sup>226</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 230.

<sup>227</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 82.

<sup>228</sup> Hershkovitz et al., “Why Do We Fail in Aging.”

<sup>229</sup> Mann, Symes, and Bass, “Maxillary Suture Obliteration.”

<sup>230</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.

<sup>231</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 20–21.

<sup>232</sup> Stage IV–V, following Loth and Iscan, “The Thoracic Region.”



Figure 32. L. 1180. Frontal view of the skull.

notch is relatively narrow, morphology indicative of a male;<sup>233</sup> the auricular surface shows slight striation in the upper half, and granulation in the lower half, typical of an individual aged 30–40 years.<sup>234</sup> The vertical diameter of the proximal head of the femur is measured as 45 mm (right and left sides), while the epicondylar width of the humerus is measured as 63 mm. These measurements are typical of a male.<sup>235</sup>

### Locus 1181

A pit grave oriented north/south, with a niche protruding to the east, covered by inclined slabs. It contained a poorly preserved human skeleton in primary burial. The dead was placed in the north/south orientation, head to the south. The right arm is stretched alongside the body, the left arm is flexed, with the hand placed on the abdomen. The body is slightly inclined on its right side, and the legs are slightly bent at the knee joints, a posture possibly dictated by the insufficient length of a shaft that was excavated in advance. In the skull, the glabella and eyebrows are markedly pronounced, a morphology indicative of a male.<sup>236</sup> The upper teeth include a canine, showing attrition in the shape of a deep dentine cup; a premolar showing attrition in the shape of dentine cup in both of the cusps; and first molars showing attrition in the shape of a dentine

<sup>233</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 208.

<sup>234</sup> Lovejoy et al., “Chronological Metamorphosis of the Auricular Surface.”

<sup>235</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 153, 230.

<sup>236</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 82.



cup in two of the cusps. The lower teeth include a canine, showing attrition in the shape of a dentine cup, and a premolar showing dentine cupping in both of the cusps. Age at death, based on tooth-attrition stages, is estimated between 30–50 years.<sup>237</sup> In the postcranial skeleton, the medial clavicular epiphysis is fused, indicative of an individual aged >25 years;<sup>238</sup> some cervical vertebrae manifest slight lipping and porosity of the articular surface, also correlated with advanced age.<sup>239</sup>

### Locus 1183

A pit grave oriented north/south, with a niche protruding to the east. It contained a poorly preserved human skeleton in primary burial. The dead was placed on its back, in the north/south orientation, head to the south. The arms are slightly flexed, with the hands placed on the pelvis; the legs are crossed: the left over the right one (Figure 33). A superficial layer of red stain is noticeable on the hand bones. Although the skull is fragmentary, it is possible to observe that the mastoid process is relatively pronounced, a morphology indicative of a male(?).<sup>240</sup> The upper teeth included a left premolar and a second molar, showing attrition of about half the crown's height. In the lower jaw, the first and second molars on both sides were lost ante-mortem; other teeth were either broken or not found. Age at death, based on tooth-attrition stages, is estimated as >50 years.<sup>241</sup> In the postcranial skeleton, lumbar vertebrae show osteophytes larger than 3 mm, while two cervical vertebrae (C4, C5) are fused,



Figure 33. L. 1183. The skeleton in situ.

<sup>237</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.

<sup>238</sup> Szilvassy, “Age Determination of the Clavícula.”

<sup>239</sup> Waldron, “Spinal Diseases.”

<sup>240</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 82.

<sup>241</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.



Figure 34. L. 1183. Two fused cervical vertebrae (posterior view) and a thoracic vertebra with osteophytes.

indicative of an individual aged >60 years (Figure 34).<sup>242</sup> The vertical diameter of the proximal head of the femur is measured as 46 mm (right and left sides), measurements indicative of a male.<sup>243</sup>

### Locus 1185

A pit grave oriented north/south, with a niche protruding to the east, covered by inclined slabs. It contained a poorly preserved human skeleton in primary burial. The dead is placed in the north/south orientation, head to the south. The right arm is stretched alongside the body; the left arm is slightly flexed, with the hand placed on the pelvis. Although the skull is fragmentary, it is possible to observe that the sutures are closed at a few points, typical of an individual aged >30 years;<sup>244</sup> the mastoid process is intermediate in size. In the upper jaw (left fragment), the canine shows attrition in the shape of a deep dentine cup; the first and second premolars show attrition in the shape of dentine cupping in one of the cusps. Age at death, based on tooth-attrition stages, is estimated as 30–50 years.<sup>245</sup> In the postcranial skeleton, the first sacral vertebra displays lipping of the rims, porosity and deformation of the articular surface, correlated with advanced age.<sup>246</sup> The vertical diameter of the proximal head of the femur is measured as 45 mm (right side), while

<sup>242</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 20–21.

<sup>243</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 230.

<sup>244</sup> Hershkovitz et al., “Why Do We Fail in Aging.”

<sup>245</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.

<sup>246</sup> Waldron, “Spinal Diseases.”

the epicondylar width of the distal humerus is measured as 62 mm. These measurements are typical of a male.<sup>247</sup> Lipping of the articular rim in the femoral head is also evident.

### Locus 1186

A pit grave oriented north/south, with a niche protruding to the east. It contained a poorly preserved human skeleton in primary burial (Figure 5). The dead was placed in the north/south orientation, head to the south. The left arm is slightly flexed, with the hand placed on the pelvis; the right arm is flexed, with the hand placed on the abdomen. Although the skull is fragmentary, it is possible to observe that the glabella and the mastoid process are relatively pronounced. The morphology is indicative of a male.<sup>248</sup> In the upper jaw, a lateral incisor shows attrition in the shape of a dentine cup, a canine shows attrition in the shape of a deep dentine cup, a first molar shows deep dentine cupping in two of the cusps. In the lower jaw (left side, Figure 35), the ascending ramus is relatively wide and erect, and muscle-markings are visible around the gonial area, a morphology typical of a male.<sup>249</sup> The first and third molars were lost antemortem. Other lower teeth included a premolar, showing dentine exposure in one cusp, and a second molar, showing dentine cupping in all the cusps. Age at death, based on tooth-attrition stages, is estimated between 40–50 years.<sup>250</sup> In the postcranial skeleton, the medial clavicular epiphysis is fused,



Figure 35. L. 1186. The lower jaw.  
Notice eversion around the gonial angle.

<sup>247</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 153, 230.

<sup>248</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 82.

<sup>249</sup> Loth and Henneberg, "Mandibular Ramus Flexure."

<sup>250</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.



Figure 36. L. 1186. A. The pubic bones, manifesting narrow symphyseal angle. B. The right femur.

indicative of an individual aged >25 years;<sup>251</sup> the symphyseal angle is relatively narrow, indicative of a male, while chronological changes in the symphysis pubis are indicative of an individual aged 25–40 years (Figure 36a);<sup>252</sup> the auricular surface shows compact bone mostly, while chronological changes in the sternal end of other ribs are indicative of an individual aged 25–40 years;<sup>253</sup> A piece of partially calcified thyroid cartilage is of a size and shape typical of an individual aged 30–40 years.<sup>254</sup> The vertical diameter of the proximal head of the femur is measured as 46, 45 mm (right and left sides, respectively), while the epicondylar width of the distal humerus is measured as 63 mm. These measurements are typical of a male.<sup>255</sup> Lipping of the foveal rim, indicative of older age, is also evident (Figure 36b).

### Locus 1187

A pit grave oriented north/south, with a niche protruding to the east. It contained a poorly preserved human skeleton in primary burial. The dead was placed in the north/south orientation, head to the south. The right arm is stretched alongside the body, the left arm is flexed, with the hand placed on the pelvis. A superficial layer of red stain is noticeable on the skull vault and mandible, and on the arms and lower limbs. The skull is too fragmentary to determine the sex. The upper teeth included a central incisor, showing

<sup>251</sup> Szilvassy, “Age Determination of the Clavicle.”

<sup>252</sup> Stage III, following Brooks and Suchey, “Skeletal Age Determination.”

<sup>253</sup> Stages IV–V, following Loth and Iscan, “The Thoracic Region.”

<sup>254</sup> Loth and Iscan, “The Thoracic Region.”

<sup>255</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 153, 230.





Figure 37. L. 1187. A. A fragment of the right mandible.

Notice tooth attrition, and patches of red stain.

B. The left pubis, manifesting narrow symphyseal angle.

attrition in the shape of a dentine cup, and a premolar, showing dentine cupping in both cusps. In the lower jaw (right side fragment), the first and second molars show attrition in the shape of dentine cup in two of the cusps; the third molar shows dentine exposure in three cusps (Figure 37a). Age at death, based on tooth-attrition stages, is estimated as 40–50 years.<sup>256</sup> In the postcranial skeleton, the medial clavicular epiphysis is fused, indicative of an individual aged >25 years;<sup>257</sup> the symphyseal angle is relatively narrow (Figure 37b), a morphology indicative of a male.<sup>258</sup> Chronological changes in the symphysis pubis are indicative of an individual aged 30–50 years;<sup>259</sup> upper cervical and lower lumbar vertebrae show porosity of the articular surface, but other vertebrae do not manifest porosity or lipping. The vertical diameter of the proximal head of the femur is measured as 46 mm (right side), while the epicondylar width of the distal humerus is measured as 65 mm. These measurements are typical of a male.<sup>260</sup> In the lower limb, the left fibula manifests a patch of reactive bone, evident of periostitis. It is possible that the tibia also suffered from periostitis; however, due to the poor state of preservation it is uncertain.

<sup>256</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.

<sup>257</sup> Szilvassy, “Age Determination of the Clavicula.”

<sup>258</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 208.

<sup>259</sup> Stages III–IV, following Brooks and Suchey, “Skeletal Age Determination.”

<sup>260</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 153, 230.

### Locus 1189

A pit grave oriented north/south, with a niche protruding to the east. It contained a poorly preserved human skeleton in primary burial. The dead was placed in the north/south orientation, head to the south. The right arm is stretched alongside the body; the left arm is slightly flexed, with the hand placed on the pelvis. Although the skull is fragmentary, it is possible to observe that the glabella and eyebrows are relatively pronounced, a morphology indicative of a male;<sup>261</sup> some bones are separated along open sutures, typical of an individual aged <40 years.<sup>262</sup> An upper second molar shows attrition in the shape of a deep dentine cup in two cusps, indicative of an individual aged >30 years;<sup>263</sup> the rest of the teeth had deteriorated completely. In the postcranial skeleton, the vertebral ring epiphyses are fused, the rim of the fovea shows no lipping. The vertical diameter of the proximal head of the femur is measured as 43 mm (right side), while the epicondylar width of the distal humerus is measured as 64 mm: These measurements are typical of a male.<sup>264</sup>

### Locus 1194

A pit grave oriented north/south, with a niche protruding to the east, covered by inclined slabs. It contained a poorly preserved human skeleton in primary burial. The dead was placed in the north/south orientation, head to the south. The arms are slightly flexed, with and the hands placed on the pelvis. Although the skull is fragmentary, it is possible to observe that the glabella andinion are relatively pronounced, a morphology indicative of a male;<sup>265</sup> some bones are separated along open sutures, typical of an individual aged <40 years.<sup>266</sup> In the upper jaw, the incisors and a canine show dentine exposure; a first molar shows attrition in the shape of deep dentine cup in one of the cusps; a second molar shows enamel attrition only; the third molar has erupted (Figure 38a). In the lower jaw, a canine shows dentine exposure; a first premolar shows enamel attrition; and the second premolar shows dentine exposure in one of the cusps. Age at death, based on tooth-attrition stages, is estimated as 20–30 years.<sup>267</sup> In the postcranial skeleton, the vertebral ring epiphyses and the iliac crest are fused, but the medial clavicular epiphysis is only partially fused, indicative of an individual aged 20–30 years;<sup>268</sup> the symphyseal angle is relatively narrow (Figure 38b), and chronological changes in the symphysis pubis are indicative of an individual aged 25–40 years.<sup>269</sup> The vertical diameter of

<sup>261</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 82.

<sup>262</sup> Hershkovitz et al., “Why Do We Fail in Aging.”

<sup>263</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.

<sup>264</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 153, 230.

<sup>265</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 82.

<sup>266</sup> Hershkovitz et al., “Why Do We Fail in Aging.”

<sup>267</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.

<sup>268</sup> Johnston and Zimmer, “Assessment of Growth and Age;” Szilvassy, “Age Determination of the Clavicle.”

<sup>269</sup> Stage III, following Brooks and Suchey, “Skeletal Age Determination.”



Figure 38. L. 1194. A. The upper teeth (right side).  
B. The pubic bone (left side).

the proximal head of the femur is measured as 49 mm (right and left sides), while the epicondylar width of the distal humerus is measured as 64 mm (right and left sides): These measurements are typical of a male.<sup>270</sup> The femoral anatomical length is measured as 426 mm (right side), from which a stature of  $159 \pm 3$  cm can be extrapolated.<sup>271</sup> In the lower limb, the right tibia shows patches of reactive bone, evident of periostitis.

### Locus 1196

A pit grave oriented north/south, whose upper part had been destroyed completely. It contained a poorly preserved human skeleton in primary burial. The dead was placed in the north/south orientation, head to the south. The arms are slightly flexed, with the hands placed on the pelvis. In the skull, the glabella and brow ridges are relatively pronounced, a morphology indicative of a male (Figure 39);<sup>272</sup> some bones are separated along open sutures, typical of an individual aged <40 years.<sup>273</sup> In the upper jaw, a canine, and the left first and third molars show attrition of over half the crown's height, while on the right side, the first molar shows enamel attrition and the second molar shows attrition in the shape of a deep dentine cup in one of the cusps. In the

<sup>270</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 153, 230.

<sup>271</sup> M. R. Feldesman, J. G. Kleckner, and J. K. Lundy, "Femur/stature Ratio and Estimates of Stature in Mid- and Late-Pleistocene Fossil Hominids," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 83 (1990): 359–372.

<sup>272</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 82.

<sup>273</sup> Hershkovitz, "Why Do We Fail in Aging."



Figure 39. L. 1196. Close look at the skull of the individual.  
Notice the relatively pronounced eyebrows.

lower jaw, the left first and second molars, and the right first and third molars, were lost ante-mortem; a premolar shows attrition of about half crown's height. Age at death, based on tooth-attrition stages, is estimated as >50 years.<sup>274</sup> In the postcranial skeleton, most of the bones were deteriorated due to the penetration of roots, however, it is possible to observe that the individual is relatively high and robust; no vertebral osteophytes are noticed, typical of an individual aged <60 years.<sup>275</sup> The vertical diameter of the proximal head of the femur is measured as 44 mm (right side), a measurement scaled between male and female averages.<sup>276</sup>

#### SKELETAL REMAINS IN SECONDARY BURIALS

As stated earlier, the northern enclosure of the excavation area is marked by a fence and a row of bushes which clearly cut through Qumran-type graves, and we believe that the two piles of bones described below (secondary burials) represent tombs that were accidentally encountered during the construction works in 1981/1982. A rare pathology unique to Qumran (to be described in detail in a future publication) was also found in one of these skeletons.

<sup>274</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.

<sup>275</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 20–21.

<sup>276</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 230.





Figure 40. L. 1171. Secondary burial of an adult.

### Locus 1171

A small, rounded pit grave. The remains included piled-up skull and postcranial bones, suggestive of a secondary burial (Figure 40). In the skull, the glabella and brow ridges are relatively developed, indicative of a male;<sup>277</sup> the sutures are closed in a few points, typical of an individual aged >30 years.<sup>278</sup> In the lower jaw, a first molar shows attrition in the shape of a deep dentine cup in all the cusps, and the second molar shows dentine cupping in all the cusps. Age at death, based on tooth-attrition stages, is estimated as 40–50 years.<sup>279</sup> In the postcranial skeleton, the iliac crest and the vertebral ring epiphyses are fused, but no osteophytes were observed, indicative of an individual aged 20–50 years;<sup>280</sup> the auricular surface shows no porosity or changes in the apex area, indicative of an individual aged <50 years.<sup>281</sup> The vertical diameter of the proximal head of the femur is measured as 47 mm (left side), a measurement indicative of a male.<sup>282</sup>

### Locus 1175

A small, rounded pit grave. The remains included piled-up skull vault fragments and postcranial bones, suggestive of a secondary burial (Figure 41).

<sup>277</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 82.

<sup>278</sup> Hershkovitz, “Why Do We Fail in Aging.”

<sup>279</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.

<sup>280</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 20–21; Johnston and Zimmer, “Assessment of Growth and Age.”

<sup>281</sup> Lovejoy et al., “Chronological Metamorphosis of the Auricular Surface.”

<sup>282</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 230.



Figure 41. L. 1175. Secondary burial of an adult.

The long bones were arranged in a north-south orientation, and the skull was placed above them, with its base facing up. In the skull, the superior nuchal line is moderately developed, characteristic of a male(?). The lower teeth included an incisor, showing dentine cupping and a noticeable accumulation of tartar; two canines, showing dentine cupping; a premolar, showing dentine exposure in one cusp; and first and second molars showing attrition in the shape of dentine cupping in two cusps. Age at death, based on tooth-attrition stages, is estimated as 30–40 years.<sup>283</sup> The cervical vertebrae show fused-ring epiphyses, indicative of an individual aged >20 years.<sup>284</sup> The vertical diameter of the proximal head of the femur is measured as 44 mm (right side), a measurement scaled between male and female averages.<sup>285</sup>

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<sup>283</sup> Hillson, *Teeth*, 176–201.

<sup>284</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 21.

<sup>285</sup> Bass, *Human Osteology*, 230.

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# THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE ARAMAIC TESTAMENT OF LEVI (VISIONS OF LEVI) AS INTERPRETED BY JÓZEF T. MILIK

## *Sommaire*

En tant qu'éditeur des manuscrits de la mer Morte, J. T. Milik publia quelques articles contenant les premiers fragments araméens des Visions de Levi de la grotte 1 et 4. En continuant son travail sur cette composition lévitique, il prépara une monographie avec tous les manuscrits de Qumran et les autres textes appartenant à la même composition lévitique. Cette étude commence avec une brève présentation des fichiers de cette monographie jamais publiée, suivie par une discussion concernant l'interprétation des manuscrits des Visions et de sa structure littéraire selon J. T. Milik.

## *Summary*

Having published some Qumran fragments of the Visions of Levi, J. T. Milik continued to work on a monograph that was not published during his lifetime. His monograph provides a comprehensive treatment of all the evidence from Qumran and other manuscripts of this Levitical composition. The present paper aims at discussing both the contents of Milik's unpublished files and his way of dealing with the manuscripts of the Visions of Levi, along with their order within the Levi composition and the literary structure of the whole Aramaic text.

**T**HE Aramaic Testament of Levi is a Jewish priestly composition dated to the third century BC, or possibly earlier. Its main protagonist is Levi, the third son of Jacob, who in the first person singular recounts his life, his rise to apocalyptic priesthood and a future for his priestly descendants. In around the 2nd century AD, the

composition served as one of the sources for a Christian writer, responsible for composing the Greek Testament of Levi that makes part of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. The first manuscript containing only the central part of the document—the beginning and end were missing—was discovered among the Cairo Genizah manuscripts at the end of the 19th century. Soon after the discovery, scholars found out that a Greek manuscript of the Testaments from Mt. Athos (Koutloumous 39) possesses two large additions to the Testament of Levi, the second one containing the Greek version of the same Aramaic composition.<sup>1</sup>

The Qumran discoveries brought to light new manuscripts of the same Aramaic composition, which Józef Tadeusz Milik (1922–2006) identified among the fragmentary texts of the cave 4 library. His early publications of the scrolls included a two-column fragment with the text of the prayer of Levi.<sup>2</sup> In 1955, Milik convincingly argued that the published fragment from the Qumran cave 4 made part of the Aramaic Testament of Levi. In the same year, he issued sixty tiny fragments from cave 1 that made part of the same Levitical composition.<sup>3</sup>

At a certain point in time Milik decided to publish a monograph discussing all the available manuscripts of the Levi composition, Aramaic fragments from Qumran included. He probably worked on this project while continuing the publication of other Qumran manuscripts in the 1960s and the Aramaic books of Enoch from Qumran in the early 1970s. Due to a lack of additional information, the reconstruction of a precise chronology of Milik's work on the monograph is now not possible. The last version of his monograph was ready around the mid-1980s, but Milik never sent it to press for publication. He died on January 6, 2006.

As a result of a chain of unforeseen events, Milik's monograph reached the author of this study. At this point, I will shortly present the available information about the vicissitudes of the monograph both during Milik's life and after his death. Some space will also be dedicated to the content of the unpublished files left in Milik's archives that will allow us to glimpse into the successive stages of work on the monograph. Finally, I will focus on the use of the original text and the overall interpretive approach present in the notes.

<sup>1</sup> The project is funded by the Minister of Science and Higher Education within the program under the name "Regional Initiative of Excellence" in 2019–2022, project number: 028/RID/2018/19, the amount of funding: 11,742,500 PLN.

For an overview of all the manuscripts of this Aramaic composition, see Henryk Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document*, JSJSup 86 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 21–32.

<sup>2</sup> Józef T. Milik, "Le Testament de Lévi en araméen. Fragment de la grotte 4 de Qumrân (Pl. IV)," *RB* 62 (1955): 398–406.

<sup>3</sup> Idem, "1Q21. Testament de Lévi," in *Qumran Cave I*, ed. Dominique Barthélemy and Józef T. Milik, DJD I (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 87–91, Pl. XVII.

## 1. EARLY INFORMATION ON MILIK'S MONOGRAPH

While preparing different projects related to the publication of the non-biblical texts from Qumran, the Polish exegete kept working not only on the publication of the Qumran manuscripts of the Aramaic Testament of Levi but also on the comprehensive edition and commentary of all the available manuscripts. Some information about this project can be gleaned from the data provided by M. de Jonge. In the 1970s, he worked on a critical edition of and commentary on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. As he was keenly interested in testamentary literature found in Qumran, he contacted Milik and invited him to cooperate with him on this project.<sup>4</sup> The two scholars eventually agreed that the monograph on the Levi composition should appear in the series "Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha."<sup>5</sup> The first draft of the monograph was ready in the middle of the 1970s, while the reworked version of the monograph was completed by around 1984.<sup>6</sup> At that time, Milik stopped working on the whole project that was near to completion, and some years later he ended his involvement with the publication of the Qumran manuscripts in general. The manuscript was put *ad acta* and the whole project abandoned.

After Milik's death in 2006, Dr Zdzisław Kapera, a Polish enthusiast of the Qumran manuscripts and owner of a small publishing house

<sup>4</sup> Zdzisław Kapera claims that de Jonge contacted Milik already in the early 1970s: "In the same years 1969–1972 Professor Marinus de Jonge tried to involve Milik in the planned volume of E. J. Brill's series *Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graecae* I.2 offering to include his 4Q and Cairo Geniza fragments (copy of his letter to Milik of Jan 19, 1984, in my possession). That had no visible effects, though." See Zdzisław J. Kapera and Robert Feather, *Doyen of the Dead Sea Scrolls: An in Depth Biography of Józef Tadeusz Milik (1922–2006)*, QM 17 (Kraków: Enigma, 2011), 86. After my exchange of emails with Mr Kapera, it turns out that he is no longer in the possession of the letter, hence the authenticity of the information about de Jonge – Milik early contacts cannot be independently verified.

<sup>5</sup> See Marinus de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text. In Cooperation with H.W. Hollander, H.J. de Jonge, Th. Korteweg*, PVTG 1/2 (Leiden: Brill, 1978), XL: "A new critical edition of the Genizah- and Qumran fragments is being prepared by J.T. Milik for the series *Studia in V.T. Pseudepigrapha*." Ten years later, de Jonge's hope for Milik's completion of the monograph was still alive, see idem, "The Testament of Levi and 'Aramaic Levi'," *RevQ* 13 (1988): 367–385, esp. 368.

<sup>6</sup> See Józef T. Milik, "Écrits préesséniens de Qumrân: d'Hénoch à Amram," in *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu*, ed. M. Delcor, BETL 46 (Paris: Leuven: Duculot; University Press, 1978), 95, n. 9; cf. the note by Émile Puech, "Le Testament de Lévi araméen, Cambridge a–b et f. Corrigenda et addenda," *RevQ* 23 (2008): 543–561, esp. 544, n. 3: "... l'œuvre que Milik m'avait montré au début des années 1980 et plusieurs fois ensuite avec de nombreuses notes marginales écrites à la main." The place where Milik stops reworking the first draft of his manuscript (Aramaic retroversion of the Greek text containing the story of the birth of Gershom and Merari, see Appendix I, § 9.1–2 at the end of this study) bears the date 1984.



called *Enigma*, took interest in the texts left unpublished by the Qumran editor. With the permission of Milik's wife, Mrs Jolanta Zaluska, in November 2006 Kapera searched Milik's archive in Paris and took hold of several folders, including the manuscript of the monograph, which he brought with him to Kraków, Poland.<sup>7</sup> After obtaining her oral permission to publish the manuscript, at the end of July 2007 Kapera passed on the files to Prof. Ursula Schattner-Rieser,<sup>8</sup> an Austrian scholar from Institut Catholique de Paris, who specialized in Qumran Aramaic; Kapera himself had no competency in the Semitic languages.<sup>9</sup> The whole project was set to be brought to fulfillment by 2009, and the monograph was to appear in Kapera's Enigma Press.<sup>10</sup> In the meantime, Kapera published the French translation of the whole Aramaic composition by Milik<sup>11</sup> and Prof. Schattner-Rieser published some parts of the Aramaic texts of the monograph as found in Milik's archive.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> For the details about Kapera's search in Milik's archives, see his own report in Zdzisław J. Kapera, "Preliminary Information about Józef T. Milik's Unpublished Manuscript of 'the Testament of Levi'," *PJBR* 6/2 (2007): 109–112, esp. 109.

<sup>8</sup> Ursula Schattner-Rieser, "J.T. Milik's Monograph on the Testament of Levi and the Reconstructed Aramaic Text of the Prayer of Levi and the Vision of Levi's Ascent to Heaven from Qumran Cave 4 and 1," *QChr* 15 (2007): 139–155, esp. 140.

<sup>9</sup> See idem, "Remarques préliminaires sur le Testament de Lévi, monographie inachevée de J.T. Milik et quelques restitutions du Document araméen supposé original (4Q213A frag. 1–2)," *PJBR* 6/2 (2007): 113–121, esp. 113.

<sup>10</sup> See ibid., 113, n. 1: "La publication de cette monographie est prévue sous l'intitulé Józef Tadeusz Milik, *Le Testament de Lévi. Essai de reconstruction du document (araméen) original*. Préparé pour la publication par Ursula Schattner-Rieser avec le concours de Zdzisław J. Kapera, Kraków-Mogilany, Qumranica Mogilanensia vol. 10, à paraître en 2009."

<sup>11</sup> Prefaced by his English introduction (pp. 5–6), Kapera publishes the text of Milik's "Appendice" typed for him by Robert Wójcikowski and corrected by Ursula Schattner-Rieser, see Józef T. Milik (†), "Traduction continue du Testament de Lévi," *QChr* 15/1–2 (2007): 5–24, Émile Puech used the published text of Milik's translation to check his earlier readings of the Genizah manuscript against Milik's proposals, see Puech, "Le Testament de Lévi araméen, Cambridge a–b et f." Yet, one has to note that the text published by Kapera is a working draft of the translation, and as such, it has no particular importance. Milik revised his text and translation in the final version of his monograph, see § 2.3 in this study.

<sup>12</sup> 4Q213 frg. 1 and 2 (Levi's prayer), see Schattner-Rieser, "Remarques préliminaires sur le Testament de Lévi," 115–121, with her corrections of Milik's Aramaic text (p. 121, n. 13). For some critical observations on Schattner-Rieser's article, see Puech, "Le Testament de Lévi araméen, Cambridge a–b et f," 544, n. 3. The expanded English version of essentially the same French article with a longer introduction on the content of the monograph and the same Aramaic text, PAM43.242 added, appeared in December of the same year in another journal edited by Kapera,

Although the text of the monograph was at least partially described and studied by Kapera and Schattner-Rieser, and notwithstanding their evidently sincere intention to make Milik's text available to the public, the whole project began to drag on and, it seems, was altogether abandoned. In 2009, the monograph did not appear, and no more information concerning its content was made available. In September 2018, almost twelve years after the "discovery" of Milik's manuscript, Kapera brought the whole issue to the attention of the author of this study, who himself had previously worked on the Aramaic Testament of Levi for his PhD and in 2004 prepared an edition of all the fragments of this interesting priestly tradition.<sup>13</sup> Kapera asked for help in getting the manuscript ready for print and passed on to the author of this research first a scanned copy of the typescript and some time later, the rest of the material available to him.

The following pages of this article contain information about Milik's interpretive approach to the Aramaic Testament of Levi drawn from his monograph. Gifted with an unusual acumen in dealing with ancient manuscripts and with broad learning in the field of the Second Temple literature, in his notes on the Levi composition the Polish exegete was able not only to meticulously describe and publish the Qumran texts but also to contribute to the reconstruction of the textual shape and to the explanation of the Levitical exegetical tradition. His hermeneutical approach is different from what has been written on the subject before, and is certainly worthy of consideration by the students of the Levi priestly tradition. The following notes are necessarily limited to the most salient points in Milik's dealing with what he called either the Aramaic Testament of Levi or the Visions of Levi. The latter title, as argued elsewhere some time ago, has been used by certain scholars in their dealing with the Levi document. Milik uses it as well, considering its literary form and content as well as the similarity with the Visions of Amram.<sup>14</sup>

see Schattner-Rieser, "J.T. Milik's Monograph on the Testament of Levi"; idem, "Levi in the Third Sky: On the 'Ascent To Heaven' Legends within Their Near Eastern Context and J.T. Milik's Unpublished Version of the Aramaic Levi Document," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages, and Cultures*, ed. Armin Lange, Emanuel Tov, and Matthias Weigold, VTSup 140 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 2:801–819, esp. 814–818 (Appendix I). The second appendix in the same article (p. 819) publishes the text of 1Q21 32–33 + 37 1–3 as reconstructed by Milik.

<sup>13</sup> Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*.

<sup>14</sup> See Henryk Drawnel, "The Literary Characteristics of the *Visions of Levi* (so-called Aramaic Levi Document)," *JAJ* 1 (2007): 303–319, esp. 318–319.

## 2. UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL FROM MILIK'S ARCHIVE

During my stay in Paris in November 2018, I was able to search Milik's archive, which is now kept in the offices of the library of the Dominican Saulchoir study center, deposited there by Mrs Załuska after the death of her husband. I only found the typed manuscript of Milik's first version of the monograph, the copy of which was in Kapera's possession. No additional files with the text of the monograph were found in the Saulchoir library. The remaining folders described below come from Kapera's lot brought by him from Paris to Kraków in November 2006 and passed on to me in the spring of 2019.

The monograph was kept in three folders, each containing different content stemming from a different stage of Milik's work. The typed draft of the whole book was found in a separate box (§ 2.2.3). Some texts are typed, others are handwritten, while the final version is a copy of the typed manuscript with around sixty-five pages of handwritten notes that supplement the commentary. A short account of the content of Milik's files should help the reader to get acquainted with the slow progress of the composition of the monograph before the use of personal computers for scholarly work. The amount of work needed for the publication of, and commentary on, ancient manuscripts, especially the fragmentary Qumran evidence, was far greater in comparison with today's approach based on advanced technology.

### 2.1. Handwritten manuscripts

All the Aramaic and Greek texts of the Testament of Levi, including comments and corrections, were written by hand. They constitute the basic text typed in the first stage of the composition of Milik's monograph. What has been preserved from that first stage of the work on the Aramaic Testament of Levi does not cover the whole text and commentary, and as such, it is incomplete. The whereabouts of the missing portions of the manuscripts are unknown.

#### 2.1.1 *Preliminary notes on the original texts*

The notes found in a pink folder contain the paleographic description of the Qumran manuscripts, the text of some fragments with a partial reconstruction on the basis of the Cairo Genizah codex, followed by the presentation of the Cairo Genizah manuscripts with paleographic and philological notes on their contents.<sup>15</sup> This part of Milik's

<sup>15</sup> For the first preserved page containing the paleographic description of 4Q213 (4QLeviaram<sup>a</sup>), see Plate I.

monograph was typed in “Édition diplomatique des fragments et des extraits du Testament de Lévi” (§ 2.2.1). Additionally, the preserved textual notes mostly dealing with the Cairo Geniza codex can be read under the original text in the typed commentary (§ 2.3). The handwritten notes are incomplete and preserve a limited part of the text that is found in “Édition diplomatique” (§ 2.2.1) and in the commentary (§§ 2.2.3 and 2.3).

### 2.1.2 “*Testament de Lévi I*”

Found in a green folder entitled “Testament de Lévi I,” pages 90–183, numbered with a pencil in the upper right-hand corner, contain the transcription of the original text and comments on the Testament, beginning with “Règlement relatif aux accessoires du sacrifice”<sup>16</sup> and ending with “Âges des Patriarches,” an appendix containing additional information on the age of the patriarchs at the moment of their deaths drawn from a variety of ancient Jewish sources. Thus, only the second part of the handwritten commentary has been preserved in Milik’s archive. The first part (pp. 1–89)<sup>17</sup> with the original text and comments is missing. The preserved part has been partially redacted and typed in the first draft of the monograph (§ 2.2.3), pages 132–270. It also contains the text of footnotes 56–105 to this part of the typed text (§ 2.2.3), in which there only exist the in-text references without actual footnotes. In the future edition of the monograph, the text of these footnotes will be supplemented, yet their reference numbers are necessarily changed in relation to the manuscript because of the additional notes introduced in the revised, first part of the monograph in “Testament de Lévi. Ma copie I” (§ 2.3).

At the end of the commentary in this folder, one can find the table of contents of what appears to be a book project yet to be written, “Les Livres des Patriarches.” In this publication, Milik planned to include not only the Aramaic Testament of Levi but also other texts from Qumran that he considered as demonstrating the literary characteristics of a visionary testament: Testament of Judah, Naphtali, Joseph and the Visions of Jacob.<sup>18</sup> From the preserved table of contents one can

<sup>16</sup> “Disposition concerning accessories of the sacrifice”; see Appendix I, § 8.6 at the end of this article. For the photograph of the first preserved page 90, see Plate II.

<sup>17</sup> See Appendix I, §§ 1–8.5.

<sup>18</sup> **Les livres des patriarches.** Table de Matières. Préface. Liste des figures. Abréviations. **A. Introduction. I. Quelques genres de la littérature juive ancienne.** 1. Testament de Lévi. 2. Testament de Judah. 3. Testament de Nephtali. 4. Testament de Joseph. 5. Visions de ’Amram et Épître de Qahat. 6. Visions de Jacob et récits

surmise that the monograph on the Aramaic Testament of Levi was to make part of a much larger work dedicated to the “Books of the Patriarchs.”<sup>19</sup> Judging from the general plan of the projected book, Milik managed to prepare a diplomatic edition of the Qumran Aramaic texts of the Levi composition (“C. Transcription diplomatique des textes”) and a commentary with the edited text (“B. Édition des textes. I. Testament de Lévi”). If accomplished, the whole work would have had a monumental size, but it could hardly be divided into three volumes, as Milik’s note on the projected “Books of the Patriarchs” had it.<sup>20</sup>

## 2.2 Typed texts

These texts represent the second stage in the composition of the monograph. They all are based on the handwritten notes described above. Verse numbers of the reconstructed full text of Levi’s composition added in a sequential order to all the manuscript witnesses do not correspond to the reworked system in the first part of the final version of the monograph (§ 2.3) The most recent versification as reworked by Milik will be used in the edition of the book. It has already been included in Appendix I at the end of this study.

sur Abraham. 7. Patriarches dans les écrits de Qumrân. II. Écrits patriarchaux dans la littérature paléo-chrétienne. 1. Versions grecques des Testaments et des Visions des patriarches. 2. Utilisateurs des (épîtres) (textes) livres des patriarches : a. Jules Africain. b. Origène. c. Ammonas. d. Ariens. 3. Textes dérivés. a. Prière de Joseph. b. Testaments des Douze Patriarches. 4. Patriarches en liturgie : a. Sermons sur Joseph. b. Sermons sur Abraham, Isaac et Jacob. c. Testaments d’Abraham, d’Isaac et de Jacob. d. Joseph et Aseneth. 5. Patriarches dans la piété chrétienne. III. Écrits patriarchaux au Moyen Âge. 1. Dans l’Orient chrétien. 2. Dans l’Occident. 3. Chez les Musulmans. 4. Chez les Juifs. 5. Patriarches dans l’art médiéval. **B. Édition des textes.** I. Testament de Lévi. II. Testament de Juda. III. Testament de Nephtali. IV. Testament de Joseph. V. Visions de Jacob. **C. Transcription diplomatique des textes.** **D. Appendices.** I. Textes magiques de Qumrân. II. Melchiresha’ et ses agents humains. **E. Indexes.** 1. Passages identifiés. 2. Glossaire araméen. 3. Glossaire grec. 4. Citations, ouvrages, manuscrits. 5. Index general. **Planches.**

<sup>19</sup> The list of the texts planned to be included in the monograph is the same as that cited in Milik’s 1978 article about the testamentary literature from Qumran, hence he evidently planned to develop his first insights about these “testamentary” works as formulated in that article. See Milik, “Écrits préesséniens de Qumrân,” 95–105.

<sup>20</sup> See *ibid.*, 95, n. 9. What Milik did not accomplish was chapter I of the projected monograph. The other four works projected to be included into the monograph are much more reduced in size in comparison with the Aramaic Testament of Levi. Their diplomatic transcription, edition and commentary would have taken much less space as compared with the Levi composition.



2.2.1 “*Édition diplomatique des fragments et des extraits du Testament de Lévi et la description codicologique des manuscrits qui les contenaient*”<sup>21</sup>

The first page of the typed manuscript bears the title cited above. There are 63 pages in that section, each page numbered with a pen in the upper right hand corner. The section contains a paleographic description, notes on grammar together with the text of all the existing manuscripts of the Aramaic Testament of Levi, those from Qumran (1Q21, 4Q213 and 4Q214, 4Q540 and 4Q548), Cairo Genizah (Bodleian [Ms. Heb. c 27, f. 56] and Cambridge [T.-S. 16.94] ms.) as well as a short Syriac excerpt (British Library Add.17193, f. 71<sup>r</sup> 1–8). There is also an additional page with a sketch of a man in prayer with his hands extended upwards, a copy of a fresco from the Priscilla catacombs in Rome. The sketch was evidently intended to be an illustration of Levi’s prayerful position with his hands raised at the beginning of the prayer.

2.2.2. *Photographs of the Qumran and Genizah manuscripts*

After the “édition diplomatique” of the manuscripts, there follows a collection of unnumbered pages containing PAM scanned photographs: 41.888; 41.405; 41.407; 41.679; 42.028; 42.363; 42.364; 42.365; 42.442; 43.241; 43.242; 43.243; 43.260; 43.597; 43.603.<sup>22</sup> Additionally, there are photographs of Ms Heb. c 56<sup>r-v</sup> and T.S. 16.94<sup>r-v</sup>, one page with the list of the PAM numbers of the Testament of Levi, and projects for the plates with the indication of their content (5 pages, unfinished). The photographs of Ms. Koutloumous 39 are missing. Milik used the microfilm of this manuscript produced in 1967 by M. Richard and kept at Institut de recherche et d’histoire des textes, a branch of Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.<sup>23</sup> Since the project to publish the monograph was abandoned, the plates were not finished.

2.2.3 *The First Draft of the Commentary*

In the same carton box with the preceding two sections (§§ 2.2.1 and 2.2.2), there lay a typed manuscript, without a title, each page

<sup>21</sup> “Diplomatic edition of the fragments and extracts of the Testament of Levi together with a codicological description of the manuscripts which contained them.” See Plate III.

<sup>22</sup> See, e.g., plate IV, a scanned photograph of PAM 43.241.

<sup>23</sup> See “Édition diplomatique des fragments et des extraits du Testament de Lévi,” 46 (§ 2.2.1). The photographs of Ms. Koutloumous 39 with the Greek translation of the Aramaic Testament of Levi (Visions of Levi) were published for the first time by H. Drawnel, see Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*, pl. X–XV.

numbered with a pen in the upper right hand corner, pp. 3–270.<sup>24</sup> The commentary ends on p. 248, while the last part of the text contains an “Appendice: Ages des patriarches,”<sup>25</sup> pp. 249–270.<sup>26</sup> There are occasional notes added by hand. Using all available manuscripts, Milik reconstructs in the first draft of the monograph the order of the events in the whole Aramaic composition, edits the original texts, comments on readings, sets most of them in a stichometric order, gives a French translation and adds comments on each section. The titles of the literary units are not numbered but written in capital letters, while the subsections are underlined. The typed manuscript was not considered by Milik as final. Footnotes are not included, some letter references to the textual comments in the original text are missing. Occasionally, there remain empty spaces in the commentary left for Aramaic or Greek lexemes commented upon. All these shortcomings were remedied in the final form of the monograph (§ 2.3) with the addition of new reconstructions, comments and verse numbers.

#### 2.2.4 “*Appendice. Traduction continue du Testament de Lévi*”

A typed manuscript, 22 pages, each page numbered with a pen in the upper right hand corner. The first six verses contain Milik’s translation of the beginning of the Levi composition, based on T.Levi 1:1–2:4.<sup>27</sup> The remaining portion of the translation has been divided into 432 verses. When the translated text ends, Milik adds a note in which he claims that the whole text of the Testament must have originally concluded with the chronology of the life of the 12 sons of Jacob. This conviction of Milik evidently relates to an appendix on the chronology of the patriarchs with many ancient witnesses brought together, which comes at the end of the typed commentary. The translation was not considered final, given many changes, corrections and additions to the first draft of the commentary in the final redaction of the book (§ 2.3). A new appendix containing Milik’s translation of his revised text and commentary (§ 2.3) has been prepared. In the published monograph, it will be added after Appendix I, as projected by Milik.

### 2.3. “**Testament de Lévi: ma copie I**”

This title was given on the cover of the cream color folder that contains the reworked text of the monograph.<sup>28</sup> The purple color of the

<sup>24</sup> See Plate V containing page 3, the first preserved in that part of the monograph.

<sup>25</sup> That is, “Appendix: Ages of the patriarchs.”

<sup>26</sup> See Plate VI for page 249 that begins Milik’s “Appendice.”

<sup>27</sup> See plate VII with page 1 of the “Appendice.”

<sup>28</sup> See plate VIII.

type found in the whole typed text proves that we are dealing with a calque copy of the first draft of the monograph (§ 2.2.3). In fact, the new redacted copy contains the same number of pages, 270, but with 46 additional handwritten pages of comments added in different places to the manuscript only in its first part (pp. 3–131).<sup>29</sup> Also, it contains many handwritten corrections, with the addition of the Aramaic and Hebrew words or sentences missing in the first draft. Due to the stichometric division of the lines, additional reconstructions of the Aramaic text and additions of new sections thereof, the total number of verses in the whole manuscript amounts to 508.

The revision of the second part of the typed manuscript (pp. 131–270)<sup>30</sup> is limited to the inclusion of the new verse numeration in § 8.6, supplementation of the missing references in the original text to the textual notes, and occasional notes on the translation of the text. One can easily conclude that the thorough revision of the text of the monograph stopped on page 130 while the second part was never subjected to extensive corrections or additional comments that were already written and typeset. At the end of the whole text in this folder, one finds twenty pages containing the handwritten text of 168 footnotes keyed to the references found on pp. 3–130.<sup>31</sup> Footnotes to pp. 131–270 were found in the handwritten manuscript containing the second part of the whole commentary (§ 2.1.2).<sup>32</sup>

### 3. MANUSCRIPTS AND THEIR INTERPRETATION<sup>33</sup>

The scrutiny of Milik's handwritten and typed texts makes it certain that he planned the monograph to be composed of two parts: a diplomatic edition of the manuscripts and a commented edition of the Testament of Levi with the manuscripts presented in the reconstructed

<sup>29</sup> See Appendix I, §§ 1–8.5 in this study.

<sup>30</sup> For the location of these pages in the structure of the Visions of Levi, see Appendix I, §§ 8.6–14.

<sup>31</sup> For the first page of the notes, see plate IX.

<sup>32</sup> Thus the text of all the footnotes was found in the handwritten files of the monograph. Having inspected Milik's monograph in 2007, Schattner-Rieser, "J.T. Milik's Monograph on the Testament of Levi," 140, affirms that "important details are lacking: the introduction, the conclusion and some footnotes." While the introduction cannot, indeed, be found, the footnotes are complete, and a separate conclusion was not planned. After the last section of the commentary (see Appendix I, § 14 in this article), Milik wrote an extensive appendix with additional information retrieved from different Jewish sources concerning the length of life of Jacob's sons. The second appendix planned by Milik contained a French translation of the Visions of Levi, see § 2.2.4.

<sup>33</sup> For Milik's manuscript abbreviations cited in this section, consult note 81. Unless stated otherwise, paragraph numbers in section 3 of this study refer to Appendix I: The literary structure of the Visions of Levi and its manuscripts.

order of the whole text. Thus, the future edition of the monograph will be based on the text found in the archives, preserving the inner structure of the typed manuscripts, and adding Milik's handwritten pages and footnotes.

At this point, I would like to discuss the use of the manuscripts in the monograph, all transcribed by Milik from the originals,<sup>34</sup> from the photographs<sup>35</sup> or from other critical editions. In the case where the text is missing, the leading thread of his interpretation is the Greek Testament of Levi, which in his opinion is an abbreviated and reworked version of the Aramaic Testament. In his reconstructed form of the Testament, he also included 4Q540 and 4Q548, together with the excerpt attested in the Hebrew text of CD IV 15–19. Moreover, the Hebrew fragment 5Q16 is part of the text of the Testament as well as some verses from Jubilees (chs. 30, 41 and 47) and the closing section of the Greek Testament of Benjamin (12:3–4). Additionally, Milik included into the text of the Testament several citations of Levi's words that he found in the letters of the Egyptian monk Ammonas, successor of St. Anthony the Abbot. He also identified as making part of the same Aramaic document a citation in the Letter to the Corinthians by St. Clement, bishop of Rome. The author of the monograph translated into Aramaic most texts included into the structure of the Levi composition that are preserved in Greek, Hebrew or Arabic, citing the original sources as well.

At many a point, Milik's reconstruction remains arbitrary and therefore, controversial, especially in places where the texts included do not overlap with the Aramaic or Greek text witnesses from Qumran, Cairo Genizah or Mt. Athos.<sup>36</sup> The creative reconstruction of the Aramaic text at the beginning of the composition (§§ 1–22) on the basis of the incipit of the Visions of Amram (4Q543 1 a+b+c; 4Q545 1a i),

<sup>34</sup> That is the Qumran fragments and the Aramaic codex from the Cairo Genizah. There remains no doubt that it was Milik who identified the manuscripts of the Testament among the Qumran fragments of caves 1 and 4. He is also responsible for the preparation of the plates photographed by Najib Albina. The Qumran scholar transcribed the text of the Cairo Genizah manuscript in 1954 and 1972, and the Syriac fragment during one of his stays in Great Britain; cf. "Édition diplomatique des fragments et des extraits du Testament de Lévi," 30 and 62 (see § 2.2.1 in this study).

<sup>35</sup> This is true especially in the case of the Greek manuscript of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs with the Greek version of the Levi composition, kept in the Koutlounousiou monastery at Mt. Athos.

<sup>36</sup> Note that at the beginning of each section in the commentary the list of sources used is cited so that the reader is well informed as to what he or she is now reading. The clear marking of the sources makes the critical use of Milik's monograph possible. In his "Appendice" where the translation of the composite text is given, Milik is careful in distinguishing between various sources on the one hand and the hypothetical placement of some fragments within the structure of the Aramaic Testament on the other.

the chronological section of the Cairo Geniza manuscript (CL 8 II 15–8 III–3, vv. 358–365) and the much shorter Greek Testament of Levi (chs. 1–2) remains in the realm of vague possibility if not sheer improbability. Yet, the whole commentary gives numerous valuable insights into the text, reconstruction, structure and content of the Levi composition that will without any doubt be taken into consideration in subsequent research. Milik's meticulous study of the text of the Greek Testament of Levi in relation to the underlying Aramaic Vorlage is the first of this kind, showing in many small details the dependence of the Judeo-Christian Testament on the Levi composition.<sup>37</sup>

When reconstructing the title of the whole work, Milik makes reference to the opening verses of the Visions of Amram and calls the whole text "Visions of Levi," an abbreviated form of the supposed heading: "A copy of the writing of the words of the visions of Levi, son of Jacob, son of Isaac, son of Abraham."<sup>38</sup> With the exclusion of the prologue (§ 1–8) and epilogue (§ 14), he divides the text into "narrative part" (§§ 2–9) and "commandments of Levi" (§§ 10–13), containing last instructions left to the sons of Levi. These two parts constitute two different literary forms found in the Visions of Amram as well. Except for these short notes in the comments to his reconstructed form of the title and prologue (§ 1), in the rest of the monograph he does not muse on additional literary features of single literary sections easily recognizable in the Aramaic/Greek text.<sup>39</sup> Yet, his extensive comments on the second (§ 5) and third vision (§ 7) attest to his particular attention paid to this type of literary genre, however fragmentarily preserved.

### 3.1 1Q21 and 4Q213–4Q214

Milik prepared a new edition of 1Q21 for his monograph,<sup>40</sup> improving on his earlier edition of 1Q21 and prefacing the manuscript with codicological, paleographic, and orthographic notes. The hand, in his

<sup>37</sup> See § 3.3 in this study.

<sup>38</sup> In addition to that appellative, when referring to the Aramaic composition, the author of the monograph often uses the abbreviation "AL," which for him means "le Testament de Lévi en araméen." He, however, does not specify that this appellative classifies the whole text as bearing the literary characteristics of a testament in the form found in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, a Christian composition dated to the 2nd c. AD.

<sup>39</sup> For an overview of the literary forms found in the Visions of Levi, see Drawnel, "The Literary Characteristics of the *Visions of Levi*," 307–316. In a way similar to, if not identical with, Milik's opinion, the author of the article proposes to label the whole Aramaic composition "Visions of Levi," noting formal parallels with the Visions of Amram (4Q543–4Q547, 4Q548 [?]).

<sup>40</sup> "Edition diplomatique des fragments et des extraits du Testament de Lévi," 25–30, see § 2.2.1 earlier in this study.



opinion, is Herodian, and the manuscript was composed of three leaves containing eleven columns of text. Additional identifications of tiny fragments mostly based on the Greek Testament of Levi and their grouping together led to the renumbering of the fragments in relation to the first edition. New readings in single fragments were also proposed. Given the often-minuscule size of the fragments, Milik's new identifications and reconstructions, although rather hypothetical, represent an evident progress in relation to his 1955 edition.<sup>41</sup>

Table 1. New identifications and edition of most of 1Q21 fragments<sup>42</sup>

Milik's new edition <sup>43</sup>	no. of the fragment (1955) <sup>44</sup>	verse(s)	paragraph(s)
1QAL 1'	1Q21 52 (a)	30	4.2
1QAL 2'	1Q21 49 (b) (vv. 54–56); 1Q63 4 (c) (vv. 60, 62); 1Q21 37 (d) (vv. 60, 63, 65); 1Q21 9 (e) (vv. 62, 64, 67, 69); 1Q21 32 (f) (v. 61); 1Q21 33 (g) (vv. 65, 67); 1Q21 38 (v. 66?)	54–69	5.2
1QAL 3'	1Q21 31 (i)	80	5.4
1QAL 4'	1Q21 7 (j)	109–111	5.6
1QAL 5'	1Q21 25 (k)	113–117	5.7
1QAL 6'	1Q21 24 (l)	137	6.2
1QAL 7'	1Q21 8 (m)	150–153	6.3
1QAL 8'	1Q21 19+29 (n)	213–214	7.1
1QAL 9'	1Q21 15 (o)	231	7.3

<sup>41</sup> For a discussion of 1Q21, revisions of Milik's readings and many new proposals, see Émile Puech, "Notes sur le 'Testament de Lévi' de la grotte 1 (1Q21)," *RevQ* 21/22 [82] (2003): 297–310.

<sup>42</sup> For the continuous presentation of the verses and paragraphs divided according to the literary structure of the whole composition, see Appendix I at the end of this article: The literary structure of the Visions of Levi and its manuscripts.

<sup>43</sup> 1Q21 fragments not identified and not used in Milik's reconstruction: frgs. 6, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 27, 35, 36, 41, 42, 44, 46, 47, 48, 50, 53, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60; there results that out of the 60 minute fragments of 1Q21, 33 were included in the reconstruction of the text.

<sup>44</sup> Milik, "1Q21. Testament de Lévi," 88–91.

Milik's new edition	no. of the fragment (1955)	verse(s)	paragraph(s)
1QAL 10'	1Q21 45 (p) (?) + 1Q21 1 (q) + 1Q21 2 (r) + 1Q21 51(?)	236–238	7.3
1QAL 11'	1Q21 26 (s) (v. 239); 1Q21 43 (t) (v. 240); 1Q21 3 (u) (vv. 240–242); 1Q21 21 (v) (v. 241); 1Q21 5 (w) (v. 246); 1Q21 4 (x) (v. 247–248);	239–248	7.3–8.1
1QAL 12'	1Q21 40 (y) (v. 269); 1Q21 39 (z) (v. 269)	269	8.4
1QAL 13'	1Q21 30	486–489	12.2

In Milik's reconstruction, the Aramaic Testament of Levi contained three visionary dreams: the first at the beginning of the composition, describing the corrupt state of the city of evil (§ 3), the second after Levi's prayer describing his travel through the seven heavens (§ 5), and the third containing Levi's heavenly ordination (§ 7). While the first is attested only in the Greek Testament (T.Levi 2:3–4), both the Qumran fragments and the Cairo Genizah manuscripts confirm the presence of the following two dreams in the Aramaic fragmentary text. In 1QAL 2'<sup>45</sup> Milik was able to partly reconstruct the Aramaic description of the three heavens (T.Levi 2:7–12), treating the text as a means for the exposition of his interpretation of the three heavens in the first part of the vision in the context of Enochic astronomy. 1QAL 3, 1QAL 4' and 1QAL 5' to a certain extent overlap with the Greek text of the Testament of Levi.

1QAL 10' and 1QAL 11' together with CL 6 I 1–9 (§ 7.3) belong to the closing section of the second vision in which Levi receives the priestly investiture (§ 7). T.Levi 8:1–17 provides the text of the first part of the vision with the overlapping 1QAL 8' and 1QAL 9'. Thus, in its major part the new reconstruction of 1Q21, however rather hypothetical, overlaps with the first and second vision of the heavenly world

<sup>45</sup> Milik added to his composite text 1QAL 2' one fragment, 1Q63 4 (vv. 60, 62), published in his 1955 volume as unidentified, see Dominique Barthélemy, OP and Józef T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I: With Contributions by Roland de Vaux, O.P., G.M. Crowfoot, H.J. Plenderleith, G.L. Harding*, DJD 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), pl. XXXV. In DJD I, of the four fragments labelled 1Q63 on the plate, only the first one was transcribed on p. 147.

and priestly elevation of Levi. The fragments of 1Q21 that Milik was not able to place within the text of the Aramaic Testament of Levi were not included in his diplomatic edition,<sup>46</sup> while some other were not transcribed there but cited in the commentary within the context of the reconstructed manuscript order.<sup>47</sup>

Table 2. 1Q21 fragments published within the commentary<sup>48</sup>

Milik's new edition	No. of the fragment (1955) <sup>49</sup>	verse(s)	paragraph(s)
1QAL 12	1Q21 12	207	6.7
1QAL 28	1Q21 28	203	6.7
1QAL 30	1Q21 30	206	6.7
1QAL 54	1Q21 54	295–300	8.6.5–8.6.7
1QAL 57	1Q21 57	177–178	6.5

Of great importance for the reconstruction of the text is the identification of 1QAL 54 (vv. 295–300) and 4QAL<sup>b</sup> 1 III (vv. 301–303) as overlapping with the ms. Koutloumous Greek version of the Aramaic text (vv. 253–337).<sup>50</sup> The Aramaic text of this part of the Aramaic Testament of Levi found in the Mt. Athos manuscript is lost but the literal rendering of the Cairo Genizah section reflected in the initial (vv. 253–282) and closing part (vv. 331–337) of the Greek fragment does allow us to conclude that the Greek version renders the same Aramaic composition, and there exists no doubt as to its belonging to the corpus of the whole composition. 1QAL 12, 28, 30, 57 have been identified as making part of a section that treats the legal injunctions proclaimed after the killing of the Shechemites (§ 6.5–6.7).<sup>51</sup>

The two Qumran manuscripts, 4Q213–214, unquestionably overlap with the Cairo Genizah manuscripts, and their location within the structure of the Aramaic Levi composition in most cases is not problematic.<sup>52</sup> Yet, in his single readings Milik often differs from the later

<sup>46</sup> Cf. § 2.2.1 earlier in this study.

<sup>47</sup> See Table 2.

<sup>48</sup> For verses and paragraphs in the whole structure of Milik's reconstruction, see Appendix I at the end of this study.

<sup>49</sup> Milik, "Le Testament de Lévi en araméen," 88–91.

<sup>50</sup> 4QAL<sup>b</sup> 1 III (4Q214b 5–6) preserves some fragmentary letters at the beginning of a column.

<sup>51</sup> See notes on the book of Jubilees, § 3.2.

<sup>52</sup> For the list of 4Q213–4Q214 in relation to the DJD XXII, see Table 4 in Henryk Drawnel, "Józef Tadeusz Milik and the Publication of the Qumran Fragments of the Aramaic Testament of Levi," *RevQ* (forthcoming).

editions of the text and consequently, his placement of single fragments within the literary structure is different in some cases. Additionally, since he located all the fragments within the structure of the Levi composition, their transcription and translation in the diplomatic edition has been ordered in accordance with the successive stages in the development of the narrative. This is especially true for 4Q213 that comprehends the fragments divided into four manuscripts (4Q213, 4Q213a, 4Q213b, 4Q214) by the editors of the Levi composition in DJD XXII,<sup>53</sup> with several fragments left unidentified and unplaced within the structure of the reconstructed text.<sup>54</sup>

Of special interest is the identification of 4QAL<sup>a</sup> 5 I-II 21 (4Q213a 5 i-ii + 4Q213a 3-4 i) as making part of a section where after the killing of the Shechemites (§ 6.1-6.2) laws concerning sexual relationship are promulgated (§ 6.7).<sup>55</sup> Milik includes into this section 1QAL 12, 28, and 30 together with Jub. 30:7, and 41:26. 4QAL<sup>a</sup> 5 II 16-21 ends the whole section dedicated to the killing of the Shechemites (§ 6) and 4QAL<sup>a</sup> 5 II 22 together with 1QAL 8' and T.Levi 8:1, introduces Levi's third vision (§ 7). All the manuscripts located in §§ 6:2-7:3 (vv. 143-238), along with the Greek text of T.Levi 6:5-7:3; 8:11-17, fill out the gap existing between the end of Cambr. b and the beginning of Bodl. a in the Cairo Genizah codex.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Michael E. Stone and Jonas C. Greenfield, "A. Aramaic Levi Document," in *Qumran Cave 4: XVII. Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*, ed. George Brooke et al., DJD XXII (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 1-72, Pl. I-IV. The subsuming of all these fragments under one heading, 4Q213, and Milik's early date for that manuscript (pre-Hasmonean, ca. 175-150 BC) requires further scrutiny.

<sup>54</sup> See Table 4 in Drawnel, "Józef Tadeusz Milik" (forthcoming). For the discussion concerning the division of 4Q214 into two manuscripts in DJD XXII, see *ibid.*, § 5.

<sup>55</sup> Stone and Greenfield treat 4Q213a 3-4 and 5 I-II as unidentified, see Stone and Greenfield, "A. Aramaic Levi Document," 33-36; cf. Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary*, SVTP 19 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 219. Drawnel treats these fragments (vv. 3a + 3b) as making part of the second vision, see Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*, 108-111, 358-359.

<sup>56</sup> Drawnel, who attempts to reconstruct the order of manuscripts and events in the text, leaves that missing space empty, with a few exceptions concerning the Qumran fragments, *idem*, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*, 54, 108-112. Following his one-vision theory present in the Levi composition, Kugler fills that space with Levi's prayer and subsequent vision (4QAL<sup>a</sup> 1 I-II [4Q213a 1+2]), see Robert A. Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi*, EJL 9 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1996), 52 and 68-77; for the critical discussion of Kugler's opinion, see Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*, 45-49. Greenfield, Stone and Eshel follow Kugler in placing the prayer and the beginning of the vision after Cambr. b and before Bodl. a, convinced that Levi's laundering of the garments and washing of the body in the context of Levitical tradition

After the end of the wisdom poem in 4QAL<sup>a</sup> 8 II 11, whose first part is attested in CL 8 III 3–IV 23, there follows 4QAL<sup>a</sup> 8 II 12 – 8 IV 1 (4Q213 1 ii + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5; 4Q214 5; 4Q213 6) supplemented by T.Levi 15:2b–3 (vv. 412–413). This part of 4QAL<sup>a</sup> 8 ends the list of 4Q213–4Q214 fragments in the reconstructed form of the Levi composition. Taking into consideration the literary form of 4QAL<sup>a</sup> 8 II 12 – 8 IV 1, Milik calls these columns “Priestly Apocalypse”<sup>57</sup> and treats them as the first part of the whole literary section (§ 11), the second being supplemented by T.Levi 17:1–6, 4QAL<sup>c</sup> 1 (4Q540 1) and T.Levi 18:1–14.

Dated to around 175 BC, 4QAL<sup>c</sup> 1 (4Q540 1)<sup>58</sup> has been considered as the natural continuation of the Apocalypse of the Seven Jubilees in T.Levi 17:1–6. In his reconstruction of the lacunae in the Aramaic fragment, Milik makes frequent recourse to T.Levi 17:9–11, thus attempting to justify the supposed connection with the Greek Testament. In his opinion, the fragment contains the description of the five weeks of 50 years each that belong to the seventh jubilee of 350 years.<sup>59</sup> In his earlier publications, he notes that T.Levi 17:10–11 that speaks about the weeks of years is not a new development in the text of chapter 17, but a part of the subdivision of the last, seventh jubilee shortly described in T.Levi 17:8–11.<sup>60</sup> Thus, 4QAL<sup>c</sup> 1 with its five weeks of years contains the text that has been shortened in T. Levi 17:10–11. While Milik’s reconstruction proposes the context that appears

never precede the prayer but follow it, see Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document*, 11–17. For the critique of their opinions, see Henryk Drawnel, review of *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary*, by Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel, *RB* (2006): 127–131, esp. 129.

<sup>57</sup> Idem, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*, 88, 342, is convinced that this section is a separate literary unit, and labels it “a prophetic speech with apocalyptic overtones.” Milik’s “Priestly Apocalypse” stresses the apocalyptic character of the section, a proposal evidently corroborated by the inclusion of chs. 17–18 of the Greek Testament of Levi into the structure of the Visions of Levi. Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document*, 203, do not explicitly state that the section is a separate literary unit but stress the return in Levi’s speech to paraenesis. They also claim that the literary motif of reading the books in the Levi composition is comparable to the eschatological prophecies found in chs. 16–18 of the Greek Testament of Levi.

<sup>58</sup> The fragment was later published in the DJD series, see Émile Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4 - XXII: Textes araméens. Première partie: 4Q529–549*, DJD XXXI (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 213–223. The editor notes possible relations of the fragment with T.Levi 17:8–10 and labels the fragment 4QApocryphe de Lévi? ar.

<sup>59</sup> See his remarks in the commentary (§ 2.3, above in this study), p. 210.

<sup>60</sup> Józef T. Milik, “*Milkî-sedeq et Milkî-resa’ dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens*,” *JJS* 23 (1972): 95–144, esp. 123; Józef T. Milik, with the collaboration of Matthew Black, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 253.



reasonably close to the Greek Testament of Levi, the question about the connection of the Aramaic fragment with the Aramaic Visions of Levi remains open.

When introducing his penultimate section in the reconstructed textual form of the Levi composition (§ 12), the author of the monograph notes the reduction of the parenetic section, much more extensive in other Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, to one sentence only. Levi's exhortation directed to his sons in T.Levi 19:1 to choose between light or darkness, the law of the Lord or the works of Belial,<sup>61</sup> is a succinct resumption of 4QAL<sup>d</sup> 1 I–II (4Q548 1 I–II + 2 + 3)<sup>62</sup> with its doctrine about the sons of light and the sons of darkness. Although Milik strengthens the connection of the Aramaic fragment with the Levi composition (reconstruction of Levi's name in l. 9), there is hardly any textual connection with T.Levi 19:1, or with any fragment of the Visions of Levi. Hence, similarly to 4Q540, the reader remains with the impression of an arbitrary choice, based on the similarity of content, that guided the author of the monograph in his decision to include the Aramaic text into the structure of the Levi composition.

### 3.2 5Q16 and the Book of Jubilees

Milik's extensive use of all the sources related directly or indirectly to the preserved text of the Levi composition led him to include into its structure some verses of the book of Jubilees on nonetheless hypothetical grounds. Except for including some portions of that book into the reconstructed structure of the Levi composition, in his comments and notes he points to many thematic and textual links existing with the Levi composition. Of special interest for the comparative

<sup>61</sup> T.Levi 19:1: ἔλεσθε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἢ τὸ σκότος ἢ τὸ φῶς, ἢ νόμον κυρίου ἢ ἔργα Βελιάρ. The remaining part of this verse together with 19:2–3 Milik interprets as containing the description of a ceremony of the priestly covenant (Appendix I, § 13), see below § 3.3 in this study.

<sup>62</sup> The fragment was later published in the DJD series as part of the Visions of Amram, 4QVisions de 'Amram<sup>f</sup> ar, see Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4 - XXII*, 391–398. Influenced by Milik's opinion, Puech cautiously proposes to consider the fragment as a copy of the Testament of Levi (19:1 and also 18:9, 12) or the Visions of Amram, where the opposition between light and darkness is strongly marked, see idem, "Fragments d'un apocryphe de Lévi et le personnage eschatologique. 4QTestLevi<sup>c-d</sup>(?) et 4QAJa," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Madrid 18–21 March, 1991*, ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner, STDJ 11 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), 2:449–501, 491 and n. 48. In the DJD edition, he rejects the first possibility and opts for the second, noting the lack of any overlapping of 4Q548 with the other manuscripts of the Visions of Amram (p. 392).

purposes is Jub. 30:1–32:9, where the killing of the Shechemites, Levi's election to priesthood together with the promulgation of legal prohibitions of exogamy remain in evident relationship with the Aramaic Visions of Levi.<sup>63</sup>

Milik makes a direct recourse to the Latin text of the pseudepigraphic book in order to construe his section concerning the divine judgment against the Shechemites and the conferral of priesthood to Levi's sons (Jub 30:17–23, vv. 170–183; § 6.5). The inclusion of the section into the text of the Levi composition expresses his conviction that the text stems from that composition with minor changes only and that it took place in Levi's dream; additionally, 1QAL 54 overlaps with Jub. 30:20. Although the reasons for the location of the section after the Shechem episode and Levi's speech after the victory (T. Levi 6:8–7:3, § 6.4) can be deduced from the larger context, they are not explicitly given.

Another section contains the promulgation of the prescriptions concerning cultic and moral behavior at Shechem, the only sanction being the divine malediction (§ 6.6). Milik proposes to read it as a replica of the covenant renewal on Mt. Garizim in Deut 27:2–26; 29:15–46. The only manuscript assigned to this section is 5Q16, a Hebrew text identified by Milik as making part of the Levi composition more on the basis of his reconstruction than on the rather limited extent of the preserved text.<sup>64</sup> The Qumran scholar does not elaborate on the details of his identification and on the reasons for the inclusion of a Hebrew

<sup>63</sup> The content of Abraham's teaching transmitted to Isaac in Jubilees 21 is an additional text that is related to Isaac's instructions of Levi (§ 8). The temporal priority of the Levi composition accounts for the generally shared opinion that the traditions about Levi and Abraham's legal injunctions in Jubilees are later than the Aramaic Visions of Levi, but the two books relied independently on a similar source, see Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 146–147, 151–155. Proposing a revers relationship, James Kugel, "Levi's Elevation to the Priesthood in Second Temple Writings," *HTR* 86 (1993): 1–64, esp. 31–42, 52–58, argues for the priority of Jubilees and on the redactional level, he distinguishes two documents in the Levi composition: "Levi's Priestly Initiation" and the "Levi Apocalypse," both of which were later re-elaborated and amalgamated together. For the critique of his approach, see Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 154–155.

<sup>64</sup> Dated to the first c. AD, 5Q16 was published as an unclassified text by Milik in Maurice Baillet, Józef T. Milik, and Roland de Vaux, avec une contribution de H. W. Baker, *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân: Exploration de la falaise; Les grottes 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 6Q, 7Q à 10Q. Le rouleau de cuivre. Textes*, DJD 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 193–194, pl. XLI. In his monograph, Milik labels this text 4QHL, a rather unusual move since the manuscript was found in cave 5. Since he uses the siglum more than once, it is unlikely that he commits a mistake here. The author of this study uses the label 5QHL, in accordance with the DJD III publication.

manuscript into the structure of the Aramaic composition. The tacit assumption is probably that the fragmentary text was translated from Aramaic into Hebrew.

In Milik's reconstruction, the arrival and stay of the whole family at Bethel (cf. § 6.6, v. 200 [text reconstructed, not attested]) are continued with the proclamation of laws against exogamy (§ 6.7). Thus, he includes here the Latin text of Jub. 30:7 (v. 203), 30:11 and 14 (v. 204) and 41:26 (v. 205, Ethiopic), which contain legal injunctions against exogamy and make part of the larger section Jub 30:8–11, 13–16. Into this section of the reconstructed text located after the Shechem incident (§ 6:1–6.4) Milik includes the fragmentary 4QAL<sup>a</sup> 5 I 21–22 (4Q213a 5 I) (vv. 201–202), 1QAL 30 (v. 206) and 1QAL 12 (v. 207). The section closes 4QAL<sup>a</sup> 5 II 16–21 (4Q213a 5 II + 213a 3–4 I) with its injunctions against exogamy.

The Jubilees excerpts are mostly combined with the Qumran manuscripts on the rather obvious assumption of their relation with the legal content of especially 4QAL<sup>a</sup> 5 II 16–21.<sup>65</sup> Although in Milik's reconstruction, Jub. 30:7 overlaps with 1QAL 28, the latter contains one preposition and three letters of a broken lexeme, hence the identification is more than hypothetical. The positive side of these hypothetical identifications is the assumption of a legal section in the Visions of Levi to which 4QAL<sup>a</sup> 5 II might have belonged.

### 3.3 Greek Testament of Levi<sup>66</sup>

Even the cursory reading of the Greek Testament of Levi that makes part of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs brings to the fore its close textual relationship with the Aramaic Visions of Levi. Since the latter composition is fragmentary and contains distinct literary features,<sup>67</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Milik's last recourse to Jubilees is found at the beginning of what he calls "Ceremony of Priestly Covenant" (§ 13). As a colophon appended to the whole text, he composes one verse (v. 498) in which it is Amram who writes the words of Levi's vision. Reading Jub 47:9 where the angels speak to Moses: "and Amram, your father, taught you the art of writing," Milik speculates that it was Amram who had the function of a scribe-copyist writing down the vicissitudes of Levi's life and transmitting the knowledge of the priestly patriarch to his sons. His proposal departs from T. Lev 19:2 where the verb in the 1 person plural (ἀπεκρίθημεν) assumes a narrator other than Levi behind the whole composition.

<sup>66</sup> Milik bases his text and notes on the edition of the Greek text of the Testament of Levi by Charles, see Robert Henry Charles, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1908), 27–65.

<sup>67</sup> It is surprising that in the scholarly debate on the textual relationship of the Visions of Levi with the Testament of Levi, the latter making part of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, little attention is given to the variegated literary forms found

the pinpointing of the character of that relationship is rather difficult. According to the analysis of Hultgård, the Aramaic document is a source for the Greek Testament, partially reworked by its redactor(s).<sup>68</sup> The later treatment by Kugler of the same complex textual relationship between various text witnesses of the Levi priestly tradition (Visions of Levi, Jub. 30:1–32:9; Testament of Levi) focuses on the reconstruction of the original source for the Levi composition as well as for the derived traditions.<sup>69</sup> In Kugler's reconstruction, the present Judeo-Christian text is based on a pre-Christian Aramaic composition ("Original *Testament of Levi*") similar to, but not identical with the Aramaic Testament of Levi.<sup>70</sup> While reviewing Kugler's book, de Jonge affirms that instead of positing an intermediary stage, the "Original *Testament of Levi*" (whose existence is rather difficult to prove), one cannot exclude that the differences between the two *attested* texts (the Levi composition and the Christian Testament of Levi) are due to the Christian redaction of the material.<sup>71</sup>

In his monograph, Milik rather unequivocally follows the opinion expressed by Hultgård and de Jonge and does not hesitate to include parts of the Greek Testament of Levi into the reconstructed form of the Aramaic composition in the places where the Aramaic or Greek text is missing. In most cases, he stresses the uncertain and hypothetical character of such an approach that allows him to use, especially in the beginning and end of the composition, the text of the Testament of Levi. He often discusses possible redactional interventions in the latter text and uses it in a variegated way.

in the Levi composition on the one hand and the well-defined testamentary form of the Greek Testament on the other. A close analysis of differences in the literary *Gattung* brings to the fore an extensive redactional work whose goal was to produce a testamentary form out of the Aramaic composition so that it might fit within the larger context of the Greek Testaments. See Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*, 85–96.

<sup>68</sup> Anders Hultgård, *L'eschatologie des Testaments des Douze Patriarches: II. Composition de l'ouvrage, textes et traductions*, AUUHR 7 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1982), 93–123.

<sup>69</sup> Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 61–220.

<sup>70</sup> See *ibid.*, 171–219.

<sup>71</sup> See Marinus de Jonge, review of *From Patriarch to Priest. The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi*, by Robert A. Kugler, *JSJ* (1997): 115–117, esp. 117; see also *idem*, "Levi in Aramaic Levi and in the Testament of Levi," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 January, 1997*, ed. Esther G. Chazon, Michael Stone, and with the Collaboration of Avital Pinnic, STDJ 31 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 71–89, esp. 78–83.

Depending on the mode in which these sections of the Judeo-Christian composition are used within the Visions of Levi, they can be divided into three groups: a. sections of the Testament of Levi that overlap with some Qumran fragments; b. texts used as a starting point for an extensive Aramaic retranslation and expansion; c. texts cited without any reflection in, or the overlapping with, the Aramaic manuscripts. In the first case the overlapping is usually minor and often debatable, given the fragmentary character of the Qumran texts. In subsequent research, each case has to be weighed and discussed separately. Aramaic retractions and expansions of the Testament of Levi are more than hypothetical, but Milik's notes on the Greek text are often insightful and helpful for its interpretation. Texts cited without any overlapping with any of the original text witnesses of the Levi compositions often serve to fill out the missing portions of the Visions of Levi, and it is impossible to state to which extent the reworked and abbreviated text of the Greek Testament corresponds to the original material. One can be certain, though, that the content of the former stands quite close to the latter.

a. *Overlapping with Qumran fragments*

In Milik's reconstruction, 4QAL<sup>a</sup> 3, 4QAL<sup>a</sup> 4 II, and 1QAL' 9 supplement the text of the Greek Testament, and as such, they are placed within its verses, only partly overlapping with the latter. The extent of the overlapping is usually minimal, reduced to one word only. In 1QAL 3' there remains one full word טעותא "error" that might have overlapped with τῆς πλάνης in T.Levi 3:3. 1QAL 5' contains three lines of fragmentary text. Milik reconstructs in l. 1 (v. 113) שֶׁכֶם "Shechem" that may overlap with the corresponding Greek proper name in T. Levi 5:3d. The next two lines of the Aramaic text (vv. 115, 117) are set between T.Levi 5:3 and 4 and between 4 and 5 so that they supplement the dialogue between Levi and the angelic messenger without overlapping with the Greek text.

The concluding part of T.Levi 5:2 (v. 109) ("I will give you the blessings of the priesthood until") supposedly overlaps with 1Q 4' "high [priesthood] until you...." The next two lines of the Aramaic fragment, not attested in the Testament, probably describe Levi's future royal function (vv. 110–111). Since Milik omitted the last phrase in the Greek verse<sup>72</sup> in order to accommodate the Aramaic fragment, the overlapping is far from being evident.

<sup>72</sup> T.Levi 2:5: ἐλθὼν παροικίσω ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.



Table 3. Testament of Levi (T.12 Patr.) in the structure of Milik's reconstructed text

T.Levi	verse(s)	paragraph(s)	overlapping
a.			
3:1–8	82–85	5.4	4QAL <sup>a</sup> 3 (between 3:4 and 3:5)
3:3	80	5.4	1QAL 3'
5:2 <sup>73</sup>	109	5.6	1QAL 4'
5:3	112	5.7	1QAL 5' 1
5:4–6:2	113–125	5.7	1QAL 5' 2–3 (vv. 115 and 117)
6:6–7	144–156	6.3	4QAL <sup>a</sup> 4 II (between 6:6d and 6:6e)
8:11–17	228–235	7.3	1QAL' 9 (between 8:13 and 8:14)
b.			
[1:1–2]	1–8	1	_____
[2:1–2]	9–16	2	_____
[2:3–4]	17–22	3	_____
c.			
2:10–12	70–75	5.3	_____
3:1–8	76–89	5.4	_____
3:9–4:6	90–104	5.5	_____
5:1	105–109	5.6	_____
6:3b–4	133–134	6.1	_____
6:5	143	6.2	_____
6:8–7:3	157–169	6.4	_____
8:1	215	7.1	_____
8:2–10	216–227	7.2	_____
17:1–6	420–430	11.5	_____
18:1–14	444–463	11.6	_____
19:1–3	499–504	13	_____
19:4–5	505–508	14	_____

<sup>73</sup> Milik cites T.Levi 5:2 in the form preserved in Koutloumous 39; cf. Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*, 49–50.

b. *Retranslation and expansion*

Since the beginning of the Levi composition is lost, Milik supplements it with the prologue (§ 1), chronological preamble (§ 2) and vision of the sinful city (§ 3). In all three cases he composes an Aramaic text that expands the Greek Testament and includes additional information from other sources. In the prologue his newly “rewritten” text is based on T.Levi 1:1–2 and the first clauses of the Visions of Amram as attested in 4Q543 as well as on some chronological details of Levi’s life taken from vv. 363 and 364. The Aramaic retranslation of the beginning of Levi’s speech (T.Levi 2:1–2) is closer to the Greek text with some chronological details taken from other parts of the Levi composition. The third reconstructed part of the Levi composition based on T.Levi 2:3–4 follows closely the Greek text.

c. *Texts incorporated into the structure of the Levi composition*

T. Levi 2:10–5:1–2 (vv. 70–109) together with 5:3–6:2 (vv. 112–125) supplements the missing part of Levi’s second vision, in which he traverses the seven heavens; his elevation to priesthood is announced alongside the mission to kill the Shechemites. Milik’s recourse to the text of the Greek Testament is a starting point for a detailed analysis of the content of Levi’s vision. In a similar way, he uses T.Levi 6:3b–7:3 (vv. 133–169) to insert the account of the killing of the Shechemites, Jacob’s reaction to the military action and Levi’s speech after the victory after CL 3 I. Since Milik’s third vision, in which Levi is elevated to priesthood by seven angelic beings, lacks its beginning and central part in the Aramaic text, T.Levi 8:1–10, 11–17 (vv. 215–227, 228–235) readily supplements the missing material. The last recourse to the text of the Greek Testament adds to the last, concluding part of the Levi composition. The seven weeks apocalypse in T.Levi 1:1–6 (vv. 420–430) is followed by the account about the priesthood in the seventh week in 4QAL<sup>c</sup> and the depiction of the eschatological priest and redeemer (T.Levi 18 [vv. 444–463]).

Milik divides chapter 19 into two parts: vv. 1–3 bear the title “Ceremony of the priestly covenant,” while vv. 4–5 and T.Benj. 12:3–4 make part of the epilogue of the whole work. He notes that the priestly covenant in vv. 1–3 recalls the literary structure of the covenant renewal in Joshua 24, including the oath formula in which God is invoked as a witness. After Levi’s death and burial in T.Levi 19:4–5, Milik hypothesizes a necessary reference to the place of Levi’s burial transferred by a Judeo-Christian redactor to T.Sim. 8:1–2 and T. Benj. 12:3–4. Departing from T.Benj. 12:3 and using the reference to the burial of the patriarchs in the Visions of Amram (cf. 4Q544 1 1–4; 4Q545 1 a–b ii;

4Q546 1), Milik adds two concluding verses (vv. 509–510) in which Amram, the main speaker in the epilogue (according to Milik's hypothesis<sup>74</sup>), accompanied by his brothers, brings the body of Levi for burial to Shechem, and not to Hebron. The original form of the Levi composition must have referred to Shechem as to the place of the burial of the eleven patriarchs (cf. Acts 7:15–16).

### 3.4 Levitical paraenesis

After 4QAL<sup>d</sup> (§ 12.1), which in Milik's opinion refers to the greatly shortened Levi's paraenesis in T. Levi 19:1, the author of the monograph includes additional texts (§ 12.2) that may stem from a Levi composition but do not overlap with any other text witness of the Visions of Levi. Their common characteristic is the exhortatory tone and loose connection between them so that Milik's sequential order must remain nonetheless hypothetical. First, there comes the fragment attested in the Damascus Document that warns against fornication, wealth and the pollution of the sanctuary, the three nets of Belial (CD IV, 15–19, vv. 482–485), attested, slightly reformulated, in Jub. 7:20–21. Additionally, 1Q13' (vv. 486–489), in which fornication is mentioned, seems to develop the same topic of priestly vices against the pernicious influence of which Levi warns his sons.

To this section Milik adds two short citations from two different literary works. Found in a homily of Ammonas, disciple and successor of St. Anthony the Great, the first one, attested in Syriac<sup>75</sup> and Arabic,<sup>76</sup> comes from a written work of "the Fathers," yet without any explicit reference to Levi. In a gnomic form, the text speaks about blessings reserved for a good son and about malediction for a devious one (v. 490). Taken from the letter of St. Clement to the Corinthians (46:2),<sup>77</sup> the second, unprovenanced citation contains an exhortation to attach themselves to the sanctuary, or, depending on the translation, to the holy ones. The Greek verb retranslated into Aramaic purportedly makes an allusion to the one possible etymology of Levi's name proposed by Milik ("to attach") in his commentary. Objecting to Milik's interpretation of these two citations as belonging to the text of Levi's

<sup>74</sup> See note 55 in this study.

<sup>75</sup> Michael Kmoskó, "Ammonii eremitae epistolae," in *Patrologia Orientalis X*, ed. François Nau and René Graffin (Paris: Firmin-Didot; Freiburg in Breisgau: Herder, 1915), 553–640, 614.

<sup>76</sup> Anbā Marqus al-Anṭunī, *Kitāb rauḍat al-nufūs fī rasā'il al qiddīs Anṭūniyūs* (Cairo, 1899), p. ١١٧.

<sup>77</sup> Annie Jaubert, *Clément de Rome, Épître aux Corinthiens: Introduction, texte, traduction, notes et index*, SC 167 (Paris: Cerf, 1971), 176.

document, one has to state that there hardly exists any hint that would allow the reader to discover even an indirect connection with the text of the Visions of Levi.

Ammonas's homilies contain additional citations of an anonymous work in which Levi speaks in the first person singular, a literary trait characteristic to the Aramaic Levi composition. The homilies were originally written in Coptic, the language of the Christian community in Egypt. There remain some parts in Greek translated later in Syriac, while the complete text of the homilies has been preserved in the Arabic version. In an exhortatory context, Ammonas places excerpts of the discourse on the lips of Levi who praises God for the rich gifts of God's spirit.<sup>78</sup> In the Arabic version of the homilies, Milik identifies three explicit and one implicit citations of Levi's text (vv. 492, 494–497) and renders them in Aramaic.<sup>79</sup> The second citation purportedly begins the canticle of praise sung by Levi: I praise you, 'El, my God, for you have given me the spirit that you gave to your servants" (v. 492). This is why Milik places it at the beginning of what he calls "Canticle d'action de grâces" (§ 12.3). Just before the second citation in the Arabic text, Ammonas declares that "from Abel and Enoch until today this spirit is given to the souls of the just." For Milik, this statement constitutes the ground for a hypothesis about a list of the patriarchs, the souls of the just, beginning with Abel and Enoch (v. 493), that must have stood in the Levi composition cited by Ammonas. The addition of this purported list to the text of the Visions is rather unusual, for the homilies of Abba Ammonas do not attest to the existence of such a list in the work attributed to Levi.

## CONCLUSION

The overview of Milik's monograph and of his treatment of the manuscripts shows a careful edition of the Aramaic, Greek and Syriac manuscripts of the Visions of Levi. The eminent scholar reconstructed the order of the manuscripts and events using the texts that unquestionably belong to the Aramaic composition, adding numerous textual

<sup>78</sup> Milik uses the Arabic edition of Ammonas's letters that were also translated from Arabic into Latin; he also cites the Greek or Syriac versions wherever attested.

<sup>79</sup> Arabic text, explicit citations 1–3, published in Anbā Marqus al-Anṭunī, *Kitāb rauḍat al-nufūs*, p. ١١٢, 15 – ١١٣, 15; neo-Latin version: 'al-Hâqilânî (Abrahamus Ecchellensis), *A Sanctissimi Patris Nostri B. Antonii Magni Monachorum omnium Parentis Epistulae viginti* (Paris: A. Vitray, 1641), 127–128 (= PG 40, 1051 B–D). For the fourth, implicit citation, see Anbā Marqus al-Anṭunī, *Kitāb rauḍat al-nufūs*, p. ١١٤, 11–13; neo-Latin version: 'al-Hâqilânî (Abrahamus Ecchellensis), *A Sanctissimi Patris Nostri...Epistulae viginti*, 129 (PG 1052 B).

and paleographic notes. His treatment of the Greek Testament of Levi as a redacted and abbreviated form of the Aramaic Visions of Levi allowed him to include many portions of the former within the structure of the latter, to discuss their contents, and often to retranslate them into Aramaic. The latter procedure, however ingenious and fruitful for some interpretive points, led to the creation of an artificial text that must be carefully distinguished from the preserved parts of the Visions. Milik's Aramaic retroversion of the Greek Testament with the expansions attested in neither manuscript witness to his intellectual prowess but cannot be taken seriously as making part of the textual tradition of the Visions of Levi. Concerning the relationships between the Greek Testament of Levi, the book of Jubilees and the Levi composition, more research is needed to clarify the literary and thematic transformation of the Levi priestly tradition fossilized in the written form in these compositions. Furthermore, Milik's detailed study of the Visions of Levi and the related texts has left us with more profound insights in this respect.

## APPENDIX I.

THE LITERARY STRUCTURE OF THE VISIONS OF LEVI AND ITS  
MANUSCRIPTS<sup>80</sup>

Division	Manuscripts <sup>81</sup>	Verses			
		Milik	Kugler <sup>82</sup>	G-S-E <sup>83</sup>	Drawnel <sup>84</sup>
1. PROLOGUE					
1. Prologue	[cf. TL 1:1–2]	1–8	—	—	—
A. PARTIE NARRATIVE					
2. PRÉAMBULE CHRONOLOGIQUE					
2. Préambule chronologique	[cf. TL 2:1–2]	9–16	—	—	—
3. VISION DE LA CITÉ DU MAL					
3. Vision de la cité du mal	[cf. TL 2:3–4]	17–22	—	—	—
4. PRIÈRE DE LÉVI					
4. Prière de Lévi	KL 1; 4QAL <sup>a</sup> 1 I–II	22–46	s1–19	2:4–3:18	1a:1–19
5. DEUXIÈME VISION. ASCENSION DE LÉVI AUX SEPT CIEUX					
5.1 Introduction	4QAL <sup>a</sup> 1 II 13–20	47–56	s20–s21	4:1–6	1b

<sup>80</sup> While the division into chapters and subsections faithfully reflects the structure found in Milik's monograph, numbers have been added by the editor for the stake of clarity. In her overview of the literary structure of the Levi composition in Milik's manuscript, Schattner-Rieser, "J.T. Milik's Monograph on the Testament of Levi," 141, does not mention §§ 11–14, which is surprising.

<sup>81</sup> Abbreviations:

**1QAL** – 1Q21; **4QAL<sup>a</sup>** – 4Q213 (= 4Q213, 4Q213a, 4Q213b, 4Q214); **4QAL<sup>b</sup>** – 4Q214 (= 4Q214a + 4Q214b); **4QAL<sup>c</sup>** = 4Q540 1; **4QAL<sup>d</sup>** = 4Q548 1 ii + 2.

**AL** – Aramaic Testament of Levi; **CL** – Cairo Genizah codex; **CL 3 I** = Cambridge a; **CL 3 IV** = Cambridge b; **CL 6 I** = Oxford a; **CL 6 II** = Oxford b; **CL 6 III** = Oxford c; **CL 6 IV** = Oxford d; **CL 8 I** = Cambridge c; **CL 8 II** = Cambridge d; **CL 8 III** = Cambridge e; **CL 8 IV** = Cambridge f; **HL** = 5Q16 (Hebrew Levi).

**KL 1** = Ms. Koutlounous 39, ff. 201v, I 27 – 202r, I 12; **KL 2** = Ms. Koutlounous 39, ff. 205v, I 6 – 207r, I 40.

**Jub.** – Jubilees; **TL** – Testament of Levi (T. 12 Patr.); **TB** – Testament of Benjamin (T. 12 Patr.).

<sup>82</sup> Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 63–120.

<sup>83</sup> Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document*, 55–109.

<sup>84</sup> Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*, 97–204, 354–373.



Division	Manuscripts	Verses			
		Milik	Kugler	G-S-E	Drawnel
5.2 Vision des trois cieux et la promesse angélique	4QAL <sup>a</sup> 2; 1QAL 2'	54–69			
5.3. L'annonce de la fonction didactique	TL 2:10–12	70–75	—	—	—
5.4 Description des sept cieux	TL 3:1–8; 1QAL 3' (v. 80); 4QAL <sup>a</sup> 3 (vv. 82–85)	76–89			
5.5 Annonce du Jugement et la conclusion du discours angélique	TL 3:9–4:6	90–104	—	4:8 (vv. 109–111)	—
5.6 Promesse de la grande prêtrise	TL 5:1–2 (vv. 105–109); 1QAL 4' I (vv. 109–111)	105–111	—	—	—
5.7 Investiture guerrière de Lévi	TL 5:3–6:2; 1QAL 5' (vv. 113, 115, 117)	112–125	—	—	—
6. MASSACRE DES SICHÉMITES					
6.1 Conseil de Lévi, actes guerriers de Lévi et de Siméon	CL 3 I; TL 6:3b–4 (vv. 133–134)	126–134	1–2	1:1–3	1c–2
6.2 Expédition punitive des fils de Jacob	CL 3 IV; 1QAL 6' (v. 137); TL 6:5 (v. 143)	135–143	3	2:1–3	3
6.3 Réaction de Jacob au massacre sichémite	TL 6:6–7; 4QAL <sup>a</sup> 4 II (vv. 146–149); 1QAL 7' (vv. 150–153)	144–156	—	—	104
6.4 Allocution de Lévi après la victoire	TL 6:8–7:3	157–169	—	—	—
6.5. Les Tablettes célestes	Jub 30:17–23 (Latin); 1QAL 57 (= Jub 30:20; vv. 177–178)	170–183	—	—	—
6.6. Prescriptions du comportement cultuel et social	5QHL (5Q16)	184–200	—	—	—

Division	Manuscripts	Verses			
		Milik	Kugler	G-S-E	Drawnel
6.7 Lois sur les rapports socio-sexuels	4QAL <sup>a</sup> 5 I 21–22 (vv. 201–202); Jub 30:7 = 1QAL 28 (v. 203); Jub [30:11/14] (v. 204); Jub 41:26 (205); 1QAL 30 (v. 206); 1QAL 12 (v. 207); 4QAL <sup>a</sup> 5 II 16–21 (vv. 208–210)	201–210	s22–s27 (vv. 208–210)	unplaced <sup>85</sup>	3a (vv. 208–210); 3b (vv. 201–202)
7. TROISIÈME VISION: SACRÉ DU GRAND PRÊTRE					
7.1 Cadre historique	4QAL <sup>a</sup> 5 II 22 (vv. 211–212); 1QAL 8' (cf. Jub 32:3) (vv. 213–214); TL 8:1 (v. 215)	211–215	—	—	—
7.2 Investiture de Lévi au grand sacerdoce	TL 8:2–10	216–227	—	—	—
7.3 Allocution des ordinants	TL 8:11–17 (228–235); 1QAL 9' (v. 231); 1QAL 10' (vv. 236–238); 4QAL <sup>a</sup> 6 16 (v. 242); CL 6 I 1–9 (vv. 239–242)	228–242	4–6	4:7 (vv. 236–238). 4:9–11	3c (vv. 236–238); 4–6
7.4 Réveil de Lévi et visite chez Isaac	CL 6 I 9–15 (4QAL <sup>a</sup> 6 17–19; 1QAL 11' 5–8)	243–246	7–8	4:12–5:1	7–8
8. RITUEL D'ISAAC					
8.1 Introduction historique	CL 6 I 15–II 8 (4QAL <sup>a</sup> 6 19–21; 1QAL 11' 7–8; KL 2: Athos, f. 205 <sup>v</sup> I 6–16 (vv. 253b–257))	247–257	9–13	5:2–8	9–13
8.2 Préambule du rituel: pureté morale et sociale	CL 6 II 8–23 et KL 2, f. 205 <sup>v</sup> I 16–30 (vv. 258–265)	258–265	14–18	6:1–5	14–18

<sup>85</sup> 4Q213a frg. 3–4, see Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document*, 219.

Division	Manuscripts	Verses			
		Milik	Kugler	G-S-E	Drawnel
8.3 Pureté rituelle	CL 6 III 1–8 et KL 2, f. 205 <sup>v</sup> I 30–II 13 (vv. 266–268)	266–268	19–21	7:1–3	19–21
8.4 Bois sacrificiels	CL III 9–21 et KL 2, f. 205 <sup>v</sup> II 13–29 (4QAL <sup>b</sup> 1 ii 1–7 = CL III 9–21 [vv. 269–272]; 4QAL <sup>a</sup> 7 5–7 = CL III 15–21 [vv. 271–272]; prob. 1QAL 12' = CL III 9–10 [v. 269])	269–272	22–25a	7:4–7	22–25a
8.5 Sacrifice d'holocauste	CL 6 III 22–IV 16 et KL 2, ff. 205 <sup>v</sup> II 30–206 <sup>r</sup> I 19 (4QAL <sup>a</sup> 7 10–20 = CL 6 iii 22–iv 15 [vv. 273–277]; 4QAL <sup>b</sup> 1 II 7–9 = CL 6 III 22–IV 4 [vv. 271–272])	273–277	25b–30	8:1–6	25b–30
8.6 Règlement relatif aux accessoires du sacrifices	KL 2, ff. 206 <sup>r</sup> I 19–206 <sup>r</sup> I 8; CL 6 IV 16–23 (278–282); 1QAL 54 (vv. 295–300); 4QAL <sup>b</sup> 1 III 3–5 (301–303)	278–303 [end of Milik's revision]	31–47	8:7–9:18	31–47
8.7 Quelques règles générales de la conduite sacerdotale	KL 2, f. 206 <sup>v</sup> I 8–II 35	304–323	48–61	10:1–14	48–61
9. GÉNÉALOGIE ET CHRONOLOGIE LÉVITIQUES					
9. Généalogie et chronologie lévitique	KL 2, ff. 206 <sup>v</sup> II 46–207 <sup>r</sup> I 40 (f. 207 <sup>r</sup> I 20–40 = CL 8 I 2–13) et CL 8 3–III 3 (4QAL <sup>b</sup> 1 IV 1–6 = CL 8 I 13–II 1 [vv. 338–346]); frg. syriaque (= CL 8 II 15–III 3 [358–364]); cf. TL 11:1–12:6	324–365	62–81	11:1–12:9	62–81

Division	Manuscripts	Verses			
		Milik	Kugler	G-S-E	Drawnel
B. COMMANDEMENTS DE LÉVI					
10. ÉLOGE DE LA SAGESSE					
10. Éloge de la Sagesse	CL 8 III 3–IV 23 overlapping with and extended beyond 4QAL <sup>a</sup> 8 I 1–II 11 (vv. 367–390, 392–398) (4QAL <sup>a</sup> 8 II 1 = CL 8 IV 23) and the latter overlapping with 4QAL <sup>b</sup> 1 V 1–6 (vv. 391–398) (4QAL <sup>b</sup> 1 V I = CL 8 IV 21; 4QAL <sup>b</sup> 1 V 1–6 = 4QAL <sup>a</sup> 8 I 21–II 11). Cf. TL 13	366–398	82–98	13:1–15	82–98
11. APOCALYPSE SACERDOTALE					
11.1 Gloire future du sacerdoce royal	4QAL <sup>a</sup> 8 II 12– 8 III 1, overlapped in II 12 by 4QAL <sup>b</sup> V 7 (v. 399).	399–404	99–102a	13:16	99–101, l. 1
11.2 Ombres de l’avenir sacerdotal	4QAL <sup>a</sup> 8 III 2–10; cf. TL 14, 3–4.	405–409	102b–104	unplaced <sup>86</sup> (vv. 404–411)	101, l. 2–102, l. 6
11.3 Faute et punition des prêtres	4QAL <sup>a</sup> 8 III 11–21; TL 15:2b–3 (vv. 412–413); cf. TL 14:1b. 5–15, 3	410–417	105 (vv. 408–11)	unidentified <sup>87</sup> (vv. 414–418)	102, l. 7–9 (vv. 411–412)
11.4 Espoir...	4QAL <sup>a</sup> 8 III 21b–IV 1	418–419	106 <sup>88</sup>	unidentified (v. 419) <sup>89</sup>	103 (vv. 417–418) <sup>90</sup>

<sup>86</sup> 4Q213 frgs. 3 and 4, see *ibid.*, 216–217.

<sup>87</sup> 4Q213 frg. 5 + 4Q214 frg. 5. The editors of the Qumran fragments in the DJD XXII leave 4Q214 frg. 5 as unidentified and consider it as not belonging to the Qumran manuscripts of the Levi composition; see Stone and Greenfield, “A. Aramaic Levi Document,” 51. 4Q213 frg. 5.

<sup>88</sup> Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 120, transcribes 4Q213 frg. 5, without 4Q214 5 included in the reconstruction in Milik’s text (vv. 414–418).

<sup>89</sup> 4Q213 6; cf. Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document*, 219.

<sup>90</sup> 4Q213 frg. 5, without 4Q214 5 (unidentified); see Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*, 203.

Division	Manuscripts	Verses			
		Milik	Kugler	G-S-E	Drawnel
11.5 Apocalypse des sept jubilés	TL 17:1–6 (vv. 420–430); 4QAL <sup>c</sup> 1 (vv. 432–443)	420–443	—	—	—
11.6 Hymne en l'honneur du Nouveau Prêtre	TL 18:1–14	444–463	—	—	—
12. PARENÈSE LÉVITIQUE					
12.1 Doctrine des deux voies	4QAL <sup>d</sup> 1 ii 1–16 (vv. 464–481);	464–481	—	—	—
12.2 Theorème de trois vices	CD IV 15–19 (vv. 482–485); 1QAL 13' (vv. 486–489); Ammonas (v. 490); Clément de Rome aux Corinthiens 46:2 (v. 491)	482–491	—	—	—
12.3 Cantique d'action des grâces de Lévi	Ammonas, 2nd citation (v. 492; 493); 1st citation (v. 494); 3rd citation: (495–496); 4th citation (497)	492–497	—	—	—
12.4 Souscription	[Jub 47:9]	498			
13. CÉRÉMONIE DE L'ALLIANCE SACERDOTALE					
13. L'Alliance	TL 19:1–3	499–504	—	—	—
14. ÉPILOGUE					
14. Épilogue	TL 19:4–5 (vv. 505–508); TB 12:3–4 (vv. 509–510)	505–510	—	—	—
APPENDICE I. ÂGES DE PATRIARCHES					
APPENDICE II. TRADUCTION CONTINUE DU TESTAMENT DE LÉVI					

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[illegible]

Plate I. Milik's handwritten notes on the paleography of 4Q213.  
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L'autor de TP s'inspire en résumé de la loi de l'holocaut,  
 s'inspire également de Lévitique 1, 13-14:  
 13 και παρὸς ζώου καθαροῦ καὶ ἁγίου καὶ καθαροῦ (Lev. 1, 13, 14)  
 πρόσφερε θυσιαν κυρίῳ. 14 καὶ παρὸς πρωτογενήματος (Lev. 2, 13)  
 καὶ οἰνού (Lev. 2, 13) πρόσφερε ἄρτους (Lev. 2, 13) καὶ  
 ἄλλα πᾶσαν θυσίαν ἡ δατι ἁγίου (Lev. 2, 13).

VI. Règlement relatif aux victimes  
 KL 2, ff. 206<sup>v</sup> I 19-206<sup>r</sup> I 8, recopié au début de la page 16-  
 23 et qui suit la loi de l'holocaut, par 149L<sup>6</sup> 1 III...

189<sup>v</sup> [ד-] תהיה עבד [בסר] [עבד] 189<sup>v</sup>  
 [במדה] [במדה] 200<sup>v</sup> 100.  
 [במדה] [במדה] 201<sup>v</sup> 100.  
 [במדה] [במדה] 202<sup>v</sup> 100.  
 [במדה] [במדה] 203<sup>v</sup> 100.  
 [במדה] [במדה] 204<sup>v</sup> 100.  
 [במדה] [במדה] 205<sup>v</sup> 100.  
 [במדה] [במדה] 206<sup>v</sup> 100.  
 [במדה] [במדה] 207<sup>v</sup> 100.  
 [במדה] [במדה] 208<sup>v</sup> 100.  
 [במדה] [במדה] 209<sup>v</sup> 100.  
 [במדה] [במדה] 210<sup>v</sup> 100.  
 [במדה] [במדה] 211<sup>v</sup> 100.  
 [במדה] [במדה] 212<sup>v</sup> 100.  
 [במדה] [במדה] 213<sup>v</sup> 100.  
 [במדה] [במדה] 214<sup>v</sup> 100.  
 [במדה] [במדה] 215<sup>v</sup> 100.  
 [במדה] [במדה] 216<sup>v</sup> 100.  
 [במדה] [במדה] 217<sup>v</sup> 100.  
 [במדה] [במדה] 218<sup>v</sup> 100.  
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Plate II. Page 90 of Milik's handwritten commentary. © KUL, Lublin

EDITION DIPLOMATIQUE  
DES FRAGMENTS ET DES EXTRAITS  
DU TESTAMENT DE LEVI  
ET LA DESCRIPTION CODICOLOGIQUE  
DES MANUSCRITS QUI LES CONTENAIENT ,

Plate III. The title page of the diplomatic edition of the Visions of Levi.  
© KUL, Lublin

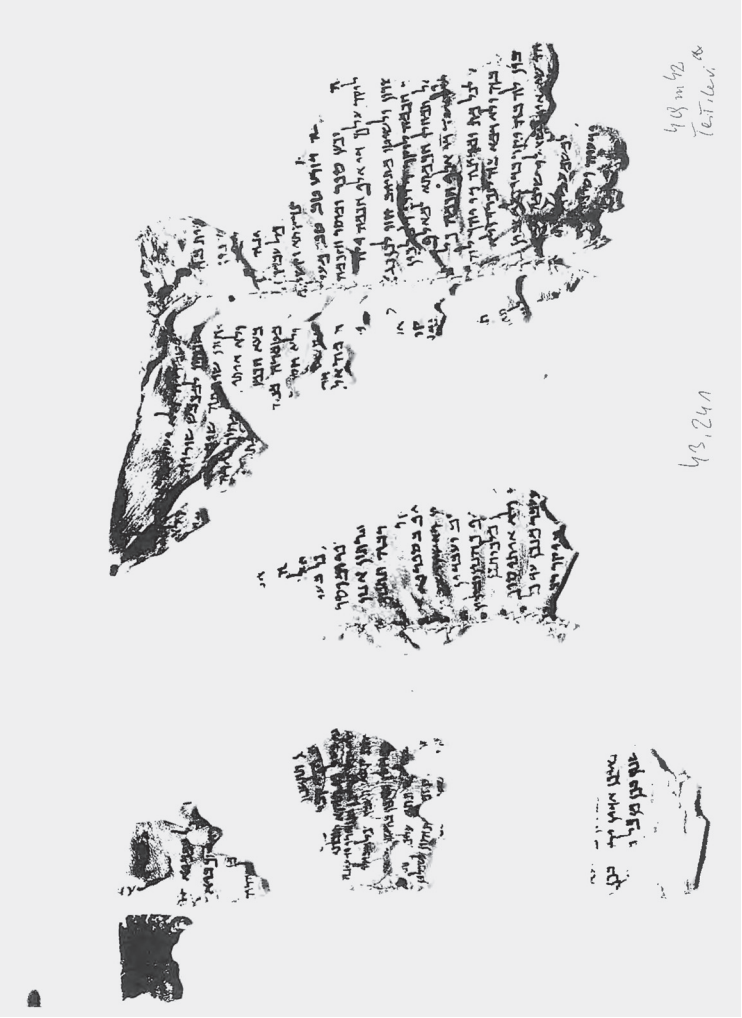


Plate IV. Milik's scanned photograph of PAM 43.241. © KUL, Lublin

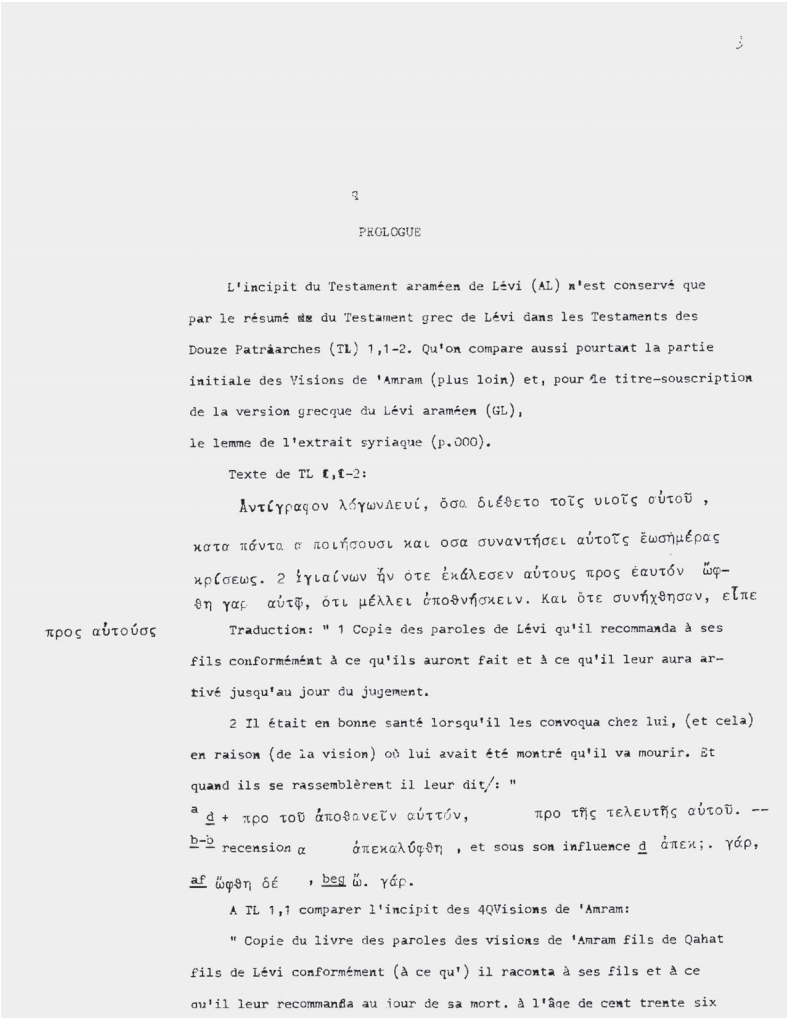


Plate V. The beginning of Milik's typed commentary. © KUL, Lublin

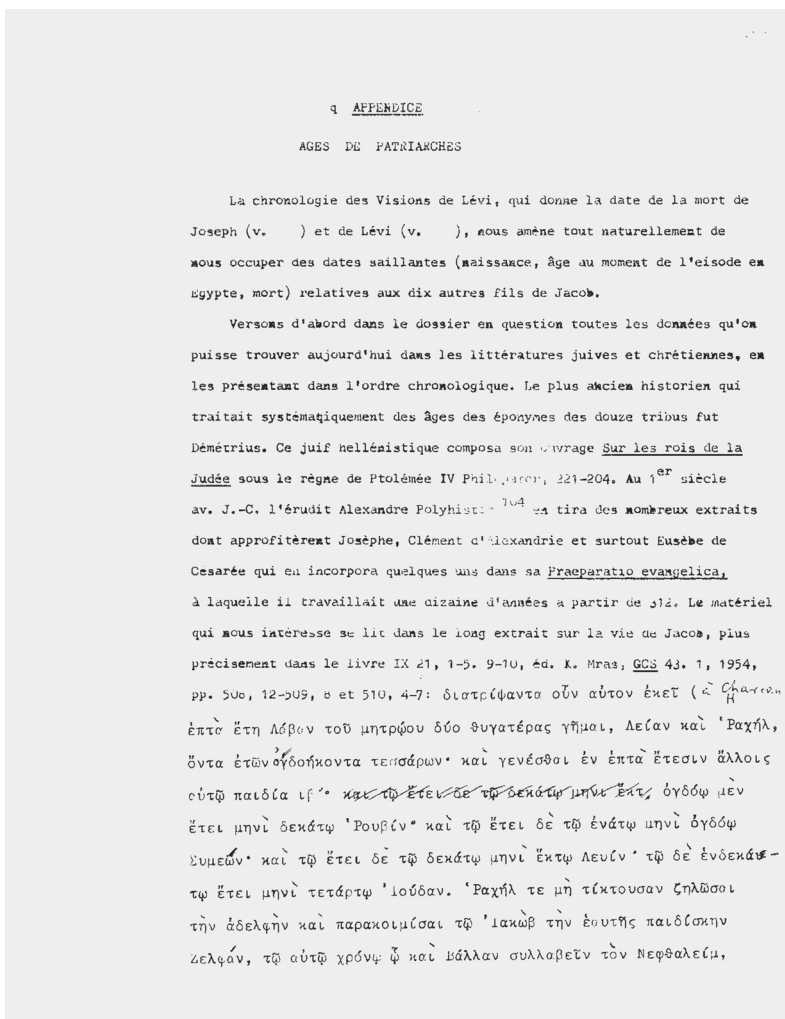


Plate VI. The first page of Milik's appendix with an extended commentary on the age of the patriarchs. © KUL, Lublin

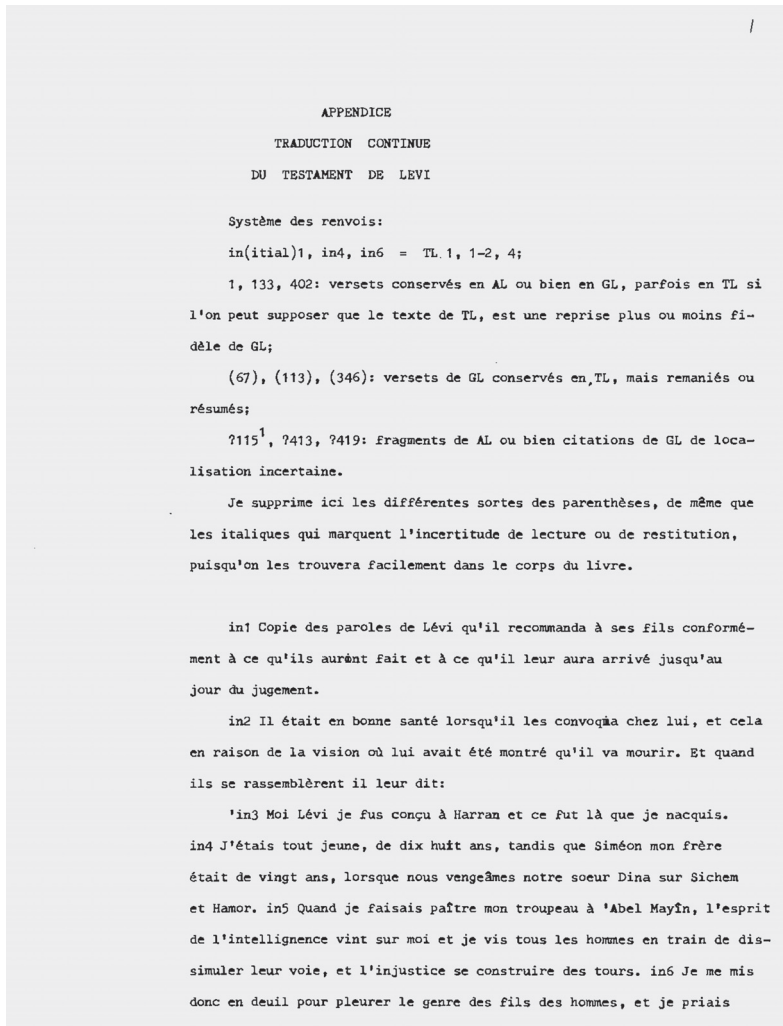


Plate VII. The first page of Milik's appendix with the translation of the composite text. © KUL, Lublin



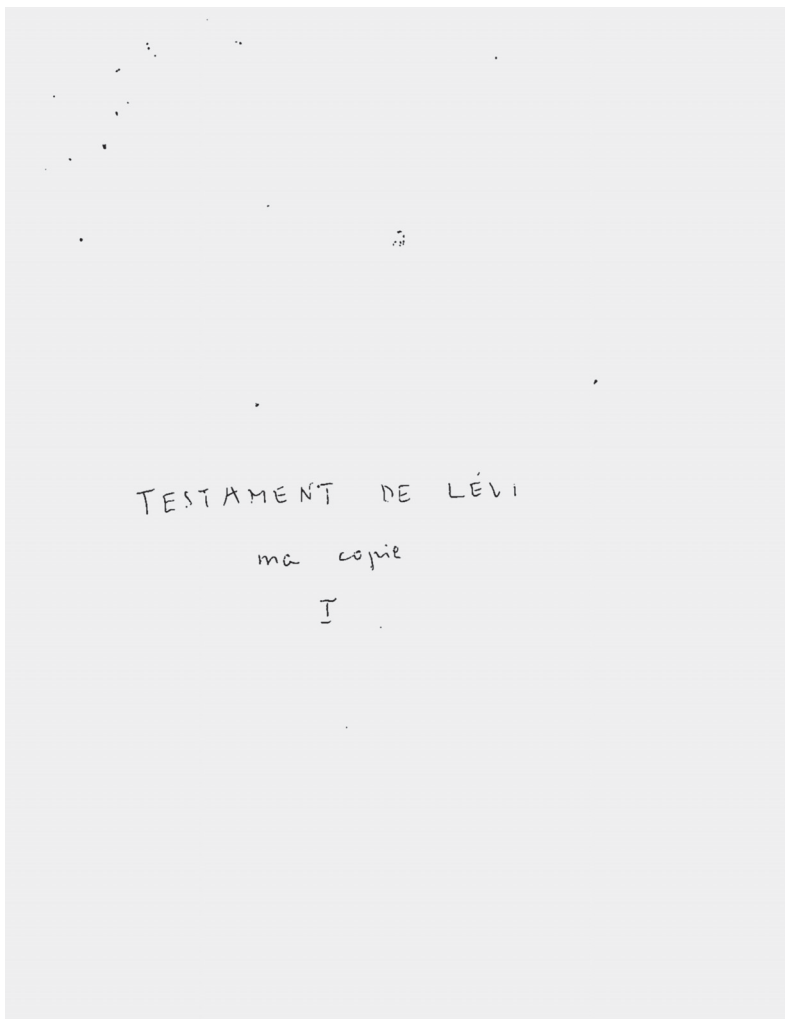


Plate VIII. The cover of the folder containing the corrected and expanded form of the monograph. © KUL, Lublin



# DAS SELBST- UND WIRKLICHKEITSVERSTÄNDNIS DER LIEDER DES MASKIL (4Q511)\*

## Résumé

La composition des *Cantiques du Sage* (4Q511) a fait l'objet d'une nouvelle attention ces dernières années. En particulier, la nouvelle reconstitution proposée par Joseph Angel permet d'examiner l'ensemble de la composition, malgré l'état fragmentaire du manuscrit. Pourtant, la fonction apotropaïque attribuée aux cantiques reste ambiguë. Le but de cet article est donc de décrire exégetiquement les caractéristiques de la compréhension de soi de la communauté et de sa réalité et de déduire ainsi la signification des chants dans son contexte historique. Les résultats montrent que les chants servent non seulement à la protection individuelle et à la défense contre les forces du mal, mais aussi à la constitution de la communauté et à sa position devant Dieu. Par conséquent, la fonction apotropaïque doit être placée dans le contexte de la réalité liturgique.

## Abstract

The composition of the *Songs of Maskil* (4Q511) has received new attention in recent years. In particular, the new reconstruction by Joseph Angel makes it possible, despite the still fragmentary state of the manuscript, to focus on the composition as a whole. However, the apotropaic function ascribed to the songs remains ambiguous. The aim of this paper is therefore to describe exegetically the basic characteristics of the self-understanding of the community and of its reality and thus to outline the significance of the songs in their

\* Als Grundlage für den vorliegenden Artikel diente ein Referat, das ich bei der 9. Schwerter Qumran-Tagung 2017 halten durfte. Ich danke Jörg Frey für die Einladung und auch für die hilfreiche Rückmeldung zum Entwurf des Artikels. Nun kommt die Arbeit daran zum Abschluss während meiner überaus ertragreichen Zeit als Visiting Scholar an der Faculty of Divinity (University of Cambridge, UK), finanziert durch ein Early.Postdoc.Mobility-Stipendium des Schweizerischen Nationalfonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung (SNF).

historical context. The results show that the songs not only serve the individual protection and defence against evil powers, but also the constitution of the community and its position before God. That is why the apotropaic function is to be placed in the context of the liturgical reality.

**D**IE Komposition der Lieder des Maskil erfuhr in den vergangenen Jahren neue Aufmerksamkeit.<sup>1</sup> Insbesondere die neue Rekonstruktion von Joseph Angel ermöglicht, trotz des nach wie vor fragmentarischen Zustandes des Manuskripts, die Komposition insgesamt ins Auge zu fassen.<sup>2</sup> Bei der Komposition handelt es sich um Lieder, die vermutlich in einer Gemeinschaft liturgisch verwendet wurden. Joseph Angel nennt als Merkmale für einen liturgischen Gebrauch die vielen Hinweise auf „Zungen“, „Lippen“ und „Stimmen“, die aufgefordert werden miteinzustimmen (z.B. 4Q511 2 i 2), sowie die jeweils ein Lied abschließende Formulierung mit einem doppelten Amen (4Q511 63 iv 1-3) und die Nummerierung, die aufgrund von 4Q511 8,4 angenommen werden kann.<sup>3</sup> Ferner scheint mir auch die Selbstbezeichnung als Lieder (שִׁירִית) auf einen liturgischen Gebrauch hinzudeuten, weil damit eine gesungene Darbietung gemeint

<sup>1</sup> Als Lieder des Maskil (Songs of the Sage bzw. Cantiques du Sage) werden die Manuskripte 4Q510 und 4Q511 bezeichnet (abgekürzt 4QShir<sup>a-b</sup>). Datiert werden sie ungefähr um die Zeitenwende. Erstmals publiziert wurden sie von Maurice Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4, Bd. 3: 4Q482-520*, DJD 7 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 215-262; Pls. LV-LXXI. Weil es zwischen 4Q510 1 und 4Q511 10 inhaltliche Parallelen gibt, wurde vermutet, dass es sich um zwei Abschriften derselben Komposition handelt; so z.B. Hartmut Stegemann, „Methods for the Reconstruction of Scrolls from Scattered Fragments“, in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, JSPSup 8 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 189-220 (hier 203). Diese These wurde aber von Joseph Angel in Frage gestellt; vgl. Joseph L. Angel, „The Material Reconstruction of 4QSongs of the Sage<sup>B</sup> (4Q511)“, *RevQ* 27 (2015): 25-82 (hier 48-52).

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Angel publizierte 2015 in einem ausführlichen Artikel in der *Revue de Qumrân* eine neue Rekonstruktion für 4Q511. Demnach handelt es sich um eine mindestens 2 Meter lange Rolle mit mindestens 16 Spalten mit jeweils mindestens 25 Zeilen. Möglicherweise betrug die Länge der Schriftrolle sogar mehr als drei Meter. Vgl. Angel, „Material“, 28. Siehe auch Daniel K. Falk, „Material Aspects of Prayer Manuscripts at Qumran“, in *Literature or Liturgy? Early Christian Hymns and Prayers in Their Literary and Liturgical Context in Antiquity*, ed. Clemens Leonhard und Hermut Löhr, WUNT II/363 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 33-87 (hier 72-73).

<sup>3</sup> Joseph L. Angel, „Reading the Songs of the Sage in Sequence. Preliminary Observations and Questions“, in *Functions of Psalms and Prayers in the Late Second Period*, ed. Mika S. Pajunen und Jeremy Penner, BZAW 486 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 185-211 (hier 187); oder Joseph L. Angel, „Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510-511)“, *DSD* 19 (2012): 1-27 (hier 2-3).

ist.<sup>4</sup> Zusätzlich sprechen auch die Funktion des Maskil, die gemeinschaftliche Perspektive und indirekt auch die Nähe zu liturgischen Texten des Yaḥad (z.B. 1QH<sup>a</sup> oder 4/11QShirShabb) für einen liturgischen Gebrauch.<sup>5</sup> Umgekehrt weisen diese und zusätzliche ideologische Merkmale auf einen *Sitz im Leben* im Umfeld des Yaḥad hin (z.B. Zwei-Geister-Lehre).<sup>6</sup> Hierfür werden im vorliegenden Aufsatz weitere Indizien gesammelt. Dennoch bleibt die Funktion, welche den Liedern primär zugeschrieben wird, noch vage. Bisher wurde die apotropäische

<sup>4</sup> Ich bevorzuge daher im Zusammenhang mit den Liedern des Maskil nicht von Gebeten zu sprechen, um dadurch den Unterschied zu anderen Bezeichnungen deutlich zu machen (z.B. 4Q504 *Dibre ha-Me'orot* oder 4Q503 *Tägliche Gebete*).

<sup>5</sup> Das Manuskript 4Q511 ist deutlich grösser als die Abschriften anderer apotropäischer Texte (vgl. Falk, „Material Aspects,“ 72) und ist damit vergleichbar mit anderen liturgischen Texten des Yaḥad (vgl. Falk, „Material Aspects,“ 67-68). Darin wird auch ein Hinweis auf eine liturgische Verwendung gesehen kann; so Mika S. Pajunen, „Reading Psalm and Prayer Manuscripts From Qumran,“ in *Material Aspects of Reading in Ancient and Medieval Cultures: Materiality, Presence and Performance*, ed. Anna Krauß, Jonas Leipziger und Friederike Schücking-Jungblut, *Materiale Textkulturen* 26 (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2020), 55-70 (hier 63). Vehement gegen einen gemeinschaftlich-liturgischen Gebrauch äußert sich Gideon Bohak, „Mystical Texts, Magic, and Divination,“ in *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. George J. Brooke und Charlotte Hempel (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), 457-466 (hier 460).

<sup>6</sup> Aufgrund formaler und ideologischer Nähe zu zentralen Texten des Yaḥad (insbesondere Hodayot und Zwei-Geister-Lehre, aber auch zu den Sabbatopferliedern) sind die Lieder des Maskil vermutlich im Yaḥad entstanden, unabhängig davon, ob in 4Q511 2 i 7 der Begriff als Selbstbezeichnung vorliegt; vgl. Carol A. Newsom, „‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature from Qumran,“ in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters*, ed. William H. Propp, Baruch Halpern und David N. Freedman, *BJSUCSD* 1 (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 167-187 (hier 183-184); Esther Eshel, „Apotropaic Prayers in the Second Temple Period,“ in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19-23 January, 2000*, ed. Esther G. Chazon, *STDJ* 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 69-88 (hier 69 und 79-80); Philip S. Alexander, „Wrestling against Wickedness in High Places‘. Magic in the Worldview of the Qumran Community,“ in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years after*, ed. Stanley E. Porter und Craig A. Evans, *JSPSup* 26 (Sheffield: Bloomsbury Publishing PLC, 1997), 318-337 (hier 321). Verbindungen zu Texten, in denen keine bzw. nur marginale Hinweise auf den Yaḥad zu finden sind (vgl. 4Q560, 11Q11, Ps 91, 1 Hen, Jub), lassen jedoch andere Gelehrte ähnlich wie bei 4Q503 davon ausgehen, dass die Liedersammlung ältere, priesterliche Traditionen aufgenommen hat; so Johann Maier, „Songs of the Sage,“ *EDSS* 2:889-890 (hier 890). Im vorliegenden Aufsatz setze ich einen yaḥadischen Ursprung voraus, ohne dies hier ausführlicher besprechen zu können. Zur Frage nach der methodischen Bestimmung gruppenspezifischer Texte siehe Michael R. Jost, „Sectarian and Non-sectarian Literature: What Does It Mean and How Does this Distinction Work Today? With A Short Case Study on the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice,“ in *The Origin of the Sectarian Movement in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. John J. Collins und Ananda Geyser-Fouche (in Vorbereitung).

bzw. beschwörende Funktion betont.<sup>7</sup> Diese Auffassung ist naheliegend, wenn man die Überschrift zum zweiten Lied heranzieht: „[Dem Maskil,] zweites [Li]ed, um abzuschrecken seine Furchterreger“<sup>8</sup>. Zudem gibt es eine Vielzahl von Geister abwehrenden Gebeten in den Schriftrollen vom Toten Meer, weshalb dieser Aspekt besonders hervorsteht (vgl. 4Q147, 4Q444; 4Q510; 4Q560; 11Q11).<sup>9</sup> Esther Chazon hat aber zurecht auf Unterschiede zu typischen Inkantationen hingewiesen: „They are distinctive, however, (1) in their address to God rather to the demons, (2) in their use of hymnic praise as words of power, (3) in their communal dimension as protection for all sons of light and, possibly, as a liturgy for a public ceremony (note the calls to praise and the concluding blessing with its Amen, Amen, response).“<sup>10</sup> Und Joseph Angel folgt aus seiner eigenen Lektüre: „But the question of the exact sense in which these hymns are anti-demonic now seems more complicated. Scholars have been too quick to categorize the Songs as apotropaic prayers, focusing only on the best preserved passages, which employ praise as ‘words of power’ and address evil spirits indirectly.“<sup>11</sup> Im Gegensatz dazu liegt ein thematisch vielschichtigeres Werk vor, wie Joseph Angel am Schluss seines Beitrages festhält: „Indeed, a sequential reading of the fragments has revealed some interesting contrasts in the progression of contents within the composition and aroused some interesting questions.“<sup>12</sup> So seien zum Beispiel alle beschwörenden Formulierungen lediglich im Mittelteil des Werkes zu finden. Allein diese Beobachtungen werfen ein neues Licht auf die Komposition.

Das Ziel dieses Beitrages ist es, an diesem Punkt weiterzudenken und exegetisch die Grundzüge des darin enthaltenen Selbst- und Wirklichkeitsverständnisses zu beschreiben, um daraus Hinweise zur Funktion der Komposition und Charakteristika der Gemeinschaft abzuleiten. Dabei gehe ich von der Komposition insgesamt aus, weil vermutlich eine Zählung der Lieder vorliegt, was darauf hindeutet, dass die einzelnen

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. Eshel, „Apotropaic Prayers“ und Bilhah Nitzan, „Hymns from Qumran – 4Q510-4Q511,“ in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*, ed. Devorah Dimant und Uriel Rappaport, STDJ 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 53-63. Daniel Falk ordnet die Lieder des Maskil den „Rituals for Alleviating Affliction“ zu: Daniel K. Falk, „Liturgical Texts,“ in *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 423-434 (hier 426-427). Gideon Bohak spricht von „exorcistic manual“, vgl. Bohak, „Mystical Texts“, 462.

<sup>8</sup> Übersetzung in Anlehnung an Johann Maier, *Die Texte der Höhle 4*, vol. 2 von *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer*, UTB 1863 (München: Ernst Reinhardt, 1995), 645.

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. Eshel, „Apotropaic Prayers“ und Falk, „Liturgical Texts,“ 426.

<sup>10</sup> Esther Chazon, „Psalms, Hymns, and Prayers,“ *EDSS* 2:710-715 (hier 712).

<sup>11</sup> Vgl. Angel, „Reading the Songs,“ 201.

<sup>12</sup> Angel, „Reading the Songs,“ 202.



Lieder bewusst in den Kontext der Sammlung gestellt wurden.<sup>13</sup> Die Beobachtungen präsentiere ich anschließend in sieben thematischen Abschnitten, wobei zuerst in den Abschnitten 1 bis 3 das Wirklichkeitsverständnis, danach in den Abschnitten 4 bis 7 das Selbstverständnis angesprochen ist: 1. Die kosmische Wirklichkeit, 2. Die umkämpfte Wirklichkeit; 3. Die eschatologisch erwartete Wirklichkeit; 4. Der Maskil und die Gemeinschaft, 5. Die funktionale Unterscheidung einer Gruppe innerhalb der Gemeinschaft in eschatologischer Perspektive, 6. Die Priester in der Gemeinschaft; und 7. Die leitende Autorität der Gemeinschaft und ein Fazit.

## 1. Die kosmische Wirklichkeit

Die beiden Fragmente 1 und 2 i beschreiben die kosmische Dimension der Wirklichkeit. In der Rekonstruktion von Joseph Angel steht Frg. 1 am Ende der Kolumne III. Darin nimmt, ähnlich wie in Ps 148, die ganze Schöpfung am Lobpreis Gottes teil, was mit den Meeren und allem Getier im Meer umschrieben ist (4Q511 1,4; vgl. auch 4Q511 30). Der Lobpreis ist zudem verbunden mit dem Lauf der Gestirne. Es geht nämlich um einen Lobpreis zu bestimmten, regelmäßigen Zeiten, worauf das Suffix in 3. Plural hinweist (בְּקִצֵּיהֶם).<sup>14</sup> Dieser Aspekt wird besonders deutlich in 4Q511 2 i 4-9,<sup>15</sup> wo vom Aufscheinen-Lassen eines Lichts (לֵאִיר אֹר), von den Engeln der Lichte seiner Herrlichkeit (מַלְאָכֵי [מְאֹרֹת כְּבוֹדוֹ]) und zugleich auch von den Festzeiten des Jahres (לְמוֹעֲדֵי שָׁנָה) die Rede ist.<sup>16</sup> Parallel dazu wird die irdische Gemeinde als von Gott „in zwölf Lager“ geordnet beschrieben (4Q511 2 i 7), womit vermutlich ein Bezug auf die zwölf Monate des Jahres angedeutet ist. Es handelt sich deshalb um eine gemeinsame Herrschaft (וּמִ[מְשַׁלַּת יְהוָה]),<sup>17</sup> so dass die irdische Gemeinde im

<sup>13</sup> Auch andere liturgische Texte aus Qumran belegen eine solche kompositorische Zählung, wie z.B. 4/11QShirShabb. Unbeantwortet bleibt in diesem Beitrag die Frage, ob einzelne Lieder unabhängig von der Komposition zuvor geschrieben wurden.

<sup>14</sup> Auf einen liturgischen Kalender weist auch 4Q511 63 ii 2 hin.

<sup>15</sup> Dieses Fragment setzt Joseph Angel ans Ende der ersten Kolumne, wobei nicht sicher ist, ob davor noch weitere Kolumnen existierten, wovon keine Fragmente erhalten geblieben sind; vgl. Angel, „Reading the Songs,“ 192.

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. Johannes Schnocks, „אֹר,“ *ThWQ* 1:105-112 (hier 107-108), der aber zugleich darauf hinweist, dass „zwar offensichtlich mit מְאֹרֹת die Gestirne angesprochen [sind] (vgl. Ez 32,8), aber diese nun schon im Sinne einer dualistischen Kosmologie als Protagonisten verstanden [werden].“ Zudem Holger Gzella, „שָׁנָה,“ *ThWQ* 3:1025-1030 (hier 1027).

<sup>17</sup> In 4Q511 2 i 9 ist der einzige, nicht rekonstruierte Nachweis des Begriffes *Yahad* in 4Q511. Ob damit die Selbstbezeichnung der Gemeinschaft gemeint ist, wird unterschiedlich beantwortet. Angel, „Reading the Songs,“ 196 und 204 übersetzt den

kosmischen Einklang mit Sonne, Mond und Sternen gemeinsam mit den Engeln vor dem Thron Gottes dienen kann.<sup>18</sup>

Doch nicht nur die materielle Welt ist zu beachten, sondern auch die Welt der Geister, die vielfach und in vielerlei Weise zur Sprache kommt. Es gibt gute und böse Geister. Die guten Geister werden als Geister seiner Herrschaft (רוחות ממשלתה; 4Q511 1,3), Engel seiner Herrlichkeit (מלאכי כבוד; 4Q511 20 i 2; 35,4; ähnlich 2,8) und wahrscheinlich auch als die Göttlichen (אלים; 4Q511 16,4) bezeichnet. Auch heilige Cherubim werden erwähnt (4Q511 41,2).

Diese kosmische Weltsicht ist grundlegend für die Interpretation der Lieder des Maskil. Philip Alexander erinnert deshalb zurecht: „It is vital for a correct understanding of the Songs of the Maskil and of the level of their magic to appreciate their strong conceptual framework. Behind them is a powerful and coherent mythological worldview, which runs through all the major sectarian texts. They are integral to that worldview.“<sup>19</sup>

## 2. Die umkämpfte Wirklichkeit

Diese kosmische Wirklichkeit, die Himmel und Erde, Engel und Menschen umfasst, ist aber umkämpft.<sup>20</sup> Die umkämpfte Wirklichkeit zeigt sich daran, dass nicht nur die Angelologie sondern auch die Dämonologie eine wichtige Bedeutung hat. Immer wieder ist von bösen Geistern (רוחי רשע), Geistern des Verderbens (רוחי חבל) und Engeln des Verderbens (מלאכי חבל) die Rede (4Q511 1,6; 10,1-6; 15,5-7; 35,7; 43,6; 48\_49+51,1-8; 81,3; 182,1). Die bösen Geister sollen aufgrund der Gebete des Maskil abgeschreckt werden, weshalb man diese Lieder als apotropäische Gebete bezeichnet<sup>21</sup> und trotz ihres liturgischen

Begriff adverbial. Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4*, 221-222 übersetzt „[go]uvernement de (la) Communauté“ und ergänzt in den Erklärungen: „Noter יחד sans article, mais de sens déterminé.“ Dieses Verständnis bekräftigt Newsom, „Sectually Explicit“, 184 (Anm. 11).

<sup>18</sup> Vgl. Angel, „Maskil“, 18-19 und Joseph L. Angel, *Otherworldly and Eschatological Priesthood in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 86 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 127. Ähnlicher Hinweis auch schon bei Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4*, 222.

<sup>19</sup> Alexander, „Wrestling against Wickedness“, 323.

<sup>20</sup> Jörg Frey nennt diesen Sachverhalt „cosmic dualism“, Jörg Frey, „Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library. Reflections on Their Background and History“, in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Cambridge 1995*, ed. Moshe Bernstein, Florentino García Martínez und John Kampen, STDJ 23 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 275-335 (hier 283) und Jörg Frey, „Apocalyptic Dualism“, in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*, ed. John J. Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 271-294 (hier 272).

<sup>21</sup> Vgl. Eshel, „Apotropaic Prayers“, 79-80.

Charakters den magischen Schriften zuordnet (4Q511 8,4; 35,6-7; 48\_49+51,1-8; vgl. auch 4Q510 1,4-5).<sup>22</sup> Dieser Kampf gegen die bösen Geister ist typisch für die Ideologie des Yahad.<sup>23</sup> Jedoch fehlen die typisch magischen Elemente in den Liedern des Maskil. Es gibt keine magischen Rituale oder Formulierungen. Es fehlen auch Aufzählungen von Gottesnamen, wie es bei magischen Schriften oft der Fall ist, weshalb diese Zuordnung nicht zwingend erscheint.<sup>24</sup>

Dieses Handeln des Maskil wird stattdessen als richterliches Handeln beschrieben (4Q511 18 ii). Die Thematik des Gerichts wird meist übersehen, obwohl sie vielfältig in den Liedern zur Sprache kommt. Das richterliche Handeln gilt einerseits den Gottlosen, die Gott in seinem Zorn vernichtet und andererseits seinem eigenen Volk zur Läuterung (4Q511 35,1-5). Das richterliche Handeln ist dabei mit der Tätigkeit des Maskil verbunden. Exemplarisch stehen hierfür die Aussagen in 63 iii 3-4, die vom Maskil gesprochen werden: „um gerecht zu sprechen einen Gerechten durch Deine Wahrheit und einen Frevler zu verurteilen“<sup>25</sup> (vgl. auch 4Q511 10,4-6; 48\_49+51,2). Das Gericht gründet aber im richterlichen Handeln Gottes (4Q511 10,11-12; 18 ii 10; 52-57,4; 67,2) und trifft somit auch den Beter selbst. So bekennt der Maskil in 4Q511 18 ii 7b-10:

„Und al[le] Werke von Unreinheit habe ich hassen gelernt. Denn Gott ließ Erkenntnisseinsicht in mein Herz leuchten und Zurechtweiser von Recht sind mit meinen Verkehrtheiten und Richter von Verlässlichkeit bei allen Vergehen meiner Schuld. Denn Gott ist mein Richter ...“<sup>26</sup>

Wenn man darum nicht nur den Aspekt des Kampfes von Gut und Böse betrachtet, sondern auch die Thematik des Gerichts berücksichtigt, welches selbst das Volk Gottes trifft, können die Lieder nicht auf die apotropäische Funktion begrenzt werden. Noch weniger überzeugend ist diese Fokussierung, wenn man beachtet, dass die beschwörenden Aussagen lediglich im Mittelteil der Komposition zu finden sind, wie

<sup>22</sup> Z.B. Donald W. Parry und Emanuel Tov, eds., *Calendrical Texts and Sapiential Texts, Poetic and Liturgical Texts, Additional Genres and Unclassified Texts*, vol. 2 von DSSR, 2. Auflage (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 2:882-913 und Bilhah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, STDJ 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 238-244.

<sup>23</sup> „L'angéologie et la démonologie y prennent donc une grande importance.“ Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4*, 215. Dementsprechend nimmt die Geisterwelt eine wichtige Stellung in der Interpretation der Gemeinderegel 1QS von Charlotte Hempel ein, obwohl diese Schrift keinen magischen Text darstellt; vgl. hierzu den Abschnitt „A Broader Literary Context Reveals an Apotropaic Safety Net.“ Charlotte Hempel, *The Community Rules from Qumran. A Commentary*, TSAJ 183 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 3-7.

<sup>24</sup> Vgl. Alexander, „Wrestling against Wickedness,“ 323.

<sup>25</sup> Maier, *Qumran-Essener*, 654.

<sup>26</sup> Maier, *Qumran-Essener*, 648.

Joseph Angel beobachtet hat.<sup>27</sup> Analysiert man die Komposition insgesamt, so wird ersichtlich, dass die Lieder umfassender davon handeln, wie das Volk Gottes im umkämpften Kosmos vor Gott bestehen kann.

### 3. Die eschatologisch erwartete Wirklichkeit

Die Thematik des Gerichts zeigt zudem, dass die umkämpfte Wirklichkeit überwunden werden wird. Wie es typisch ist für eine apokalyptische Weltsicht, wird ein Tag des Zornes Gottes bzw. der Rache Gottes erwartet (z.B. 1QS IX 23 oder X 18-19 u.ö.), welcher mit zerstörerischen Naturkatastrophen verbunden ist (4Q511 37). Bilhah Nitzan meint, dass dieses eschatologische Gericht der Leitgedanke der Komposition sei.<sup>28</sup> Dieses Gericht führt zu einem neuen Friedensreich. So bringt 4Q511 10,3-6<sup>29</sup> die Erwartung einer eschatologisch-apokalyptischen Heilszeit zum Ausdruck, in der die Herrschaft der bösen Geister überwunden sein wird, weshalb man nicht um eine ewige Befreiung bittet.<sup>30</sup> Man versteht sich gegenwärtig zwar noch im umkämpften Zeitalter der Gottlosigkeit. Das wird in den anschließenden Zeilen deutlich, in der noch um die Hilfe Gottes gebeten werden kann (10,9). Der Maskil besitzt aber durch das Gebet bereits in vorläufiger Weise die Macht zur Befreiung.<sup>31</sup>

Die eschatologisch erwartete Dimension ist auch in Frg. 35 zu finden. Dieses enthält die ersten 9 Zeilen einer Kolumne, wovon die ersten fünf Zeilen fast vollständig erhalten sind. Joseph Angel ordnet das Fragment oberhalb von Frg. 18 ii ein, was in seiner Rekonstruktion Kolumne VI entspricht.<sup>32</sup>

„G[o]tt über alles Fleisch und ein Gericht der Rache, um zu vernichten Gottlosigkeit und um zu zürn[en] den Zorn Gottes. Unter den siebenfach Geläuterten und unter den Heiligen wird Gott (einige) für sich weih[en] zu einem ewigen Heiligtum und (als) Läuterung unter den Gereinigten.

<sup>27</sup> Angel, „Reading the Songs,“ 202.

<sup>28</sup> „The main idea of the ‚Sage Hymns‘ is the eschatological judgment. Some of them declare this future judgment.“ Dazu zählt sie die Aussagen in 4Q511 35,1-2 und 10,11-12. Vgl. Nitzan, „Hymns from Qumran,“ 58.

<sup>29</sup> Joseph Angel ordnet dieses Fragment nicht wie Maurice Baillet der ersten Kolumne, sondern der elften Kolumne zu; vgl. Angel, „Material Reconstruction,“ 48-52.

<sup>30</sup> Hier ist der eschatologische Dualismus zu beachten; vgl. Frey, „Different Patterns,“ 283-284.

<sup>31</sup> Vgl. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 253-259; Eshel, „Apotropaic Prayer,“ 87-88, und Angel, „Maskil,“ 5. Treffend auch Jeremy Penner, *Patterns of Daily Prayer in Second Temple Period Judaism*, STDJ 104 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 189-190.

<sup>32</sup> Vgl. Angel, „Material Reconstruction,“ 64-65 und 81.

Und sie werden sein Priester, das Volk seiner Gerechtigkeit, sein Heer und Diener, Engel seiner Herrlichkeit. Sie sollen ihn loben für die furchteinflößenden Wunder. *vacat*“ (4Q511 35,1-5)<sup>33</sup>

Der Text beginnt mit dem richterlichen Handeln Gottes, welches das endzeitliche Ausmerzen der Gottlosigkeit bedeutet. Unter den Geläuterten und Heiligen, die nicht von der Vernichtung betroffen sind, wird Gott einige für sich zu einem ewigen Heiligtum weihen.<sup>34</sup> Die futuristischen Formulierungen zeigen die erst noch erwartete Realisierung an.<sup>35</sup> Andere favorisieren trotz des inhaltlichen Bezugs auf das endzeitliche Gericht und der futuristischen Formulierungen eine antizipierende Perspektive in der liturgischen Verwendung und damit ein präsentes Verständnis des Textes.<sup>36</sup> Jedoch ist die antizipierende Bedeutung nicht zwingend. Denn erstens haben wir bereits gesehen, dass sie zwischen der Zeit, in der das Volk Gottes noch in Bedrängnis steht (4Q511 10,3-6), und der Zeit, in der keine Bedrängnisse mehr sein werden, unterscheiden. Und zweitens kann im Verlauf der Komposition eine fortschreitende eschatologische Sicht nachgezeichnet werden. Zu Beginn bergen sich die Gläubigen in der Gegenwart Gottes unter den Engeln (4Q511 8,4-12).<sup>37</sup> Sie leben noch in einer Zeit, in der Furcht vor dem Bösen existiert. Die Gemeinschaft mit den Engeln antizipiert die Gemeinschaft zwar in der Gegenwart dadurch, dass sie Gott im Einklang mit dem Kosmos und zu den vorbestimmten Festzeiten dient (4Q511 2 i 1-10). Dabei wird bereits auf die eschatologische Perspektive hingewiesen, wenn von der Ewigkeit und dem fortwährenden Leben die Rede ist (4Q511 2 i 4). Einige Kolumnen später wird dann aber in den Fragmenten 35 und 41 das eschatologische, ewige Heiligtum beschrieben, wenn die Gottlosigkeit vernichtet sein wird. Schließlich wird die Gemeinschaft mit den Engeln ganz aus der Perspektive des Gerichts betrachtet (4Q511 10).

<sup>33</sup> Eigene Übersetzung in Anlehnung an Angel, „Maskil“, 22; ähnlich auch James R. Davila, „Heavenly Ascents in the Dead Sea Scrolls“, in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. Peter W. Flint und James C. VanderKam, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2:461-485 (hier 478-479).

<sup>34</sup> Diese Aussage der Auswahl einiger wird in Abschnitt „5. Die funktionale Unterscheidung einer Gruppe innerhalb der Gemeinschaft in eschatologischer Perspektive“ näher analysiert.

<sup>35</sup> So Davila, „Heavenly Ascents“, 478-479.

<sup>36</sup> Vgl. Crispin H.T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 175-176 und Angel, „Maskil“, 24-25.

<sup>37</sup> Die Lokalisierung dieses Fragments ist schwierig. Da es sich um den Beginn des zweiten Liedes handelt und vermutlich mindestens vier Lieder anzunehmen sind, wäre das Fragment eher im vorderen Teil zu platzieren; vgl. Angel, „The Material Reconstruction“, 67-68.

Im Gericht werden die Söhne der Finsternis mit den bösen Geistern von Gott gerichtet, sodass die Söhne des Lichts befreit werden und in Gottes Jubel einstimmen.<sup>38</sup> Dieses richterliche Eingreifen Gottes führt

<sup>38</sup> So fragt auch Joseph Angel: „If, as scholars have assumed, the Songs are meant for protection in the present ‘age of wickedness,’ before the imminent day of judgement, how are these passages, which display different temporal perspectives and no overt concern with wicked spirits, to be understood?“ Angel, „Reading the Songs,“ 201. Etwas später schreibt er: „The perspective seems to shift again in the final few columns (14-16), which contain no incantations and no overt reference to wicked spirits. These columns appear to bring the collection to a close with blessings, praises, and words of encouragement for ritual participants, contrasting the blessing of the elect one with the curse of violators of the covenant, who are ontologically linked with the wicked spirits.“ (ebd., 202) Eine ähnliche fortschreitende eschatologische Perspektive beobachte ich auch in anderen liturgischen Kompositionen, wenn man ihre Endgestalt betrachtet. Die Hodayot beschreiben die Gegenwart, in der auch die eigene Niedrigkeit bekannt wird (z.B. 1QH<sup>a</sup> XX 24-35), enden aber mit einer eschatologischen Figur, die der irdischen Bedrängnisse enthoben ist (vgl. *Self-Glorification-Hymn*). Dasselbe gilt für die Segensregel 1QSb, die zuerst Segensgebete für verschiedene Personengruppen in der Gegenwart nennt, aber an den Schluss einen Segenspruch für eine eschatologisch-messianische Figur stellt. Diese Ansicht ist umstritten und hängt von der Interpretation und dem Verhältnis zu 1QSa ab. Versteht man 1QSa als einen futuristisch-eschatologischen Text, an den sich 1QSb unmittelbar anschließt, dann formulieren die Segnungen möglicherweise eine Liturgie für die messianische Endzeit; so Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Study of the Rule of the Congregation*, SBLMS 38 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 1989), 76. Entgegen dieser Perspektive auf die messianische Heilszeit sieht die Segensregel aber dennoch gelegentlich die Gemeinde in Bedrängnis (1QSb I 7; III 7; V 23). Zudem gibt es für den ersten Teil 1QSb I 1-III 19 keine eindeutigen Aussagen, die eine futuristische Konnotation nahelegen würden. Andernteils behandelt die Gemeinschaftsregel ebenso den Umgang mit rituell unreinen Menschen, die wegen der Anwesenheit von Engeln von den Versammlungen ausgeschlossen werden (1QSa I 19-22 und II 8-9), was wiederum den Bezug zur Gegenwart der Gemeinschaft nahelegt. Deshalb sagt Hartmut Stegemann, „that 1QSa was composed for the present affairs of its author and of his Yahad, for a time when the evil was not yet destroyed within Israel“ (Hartmut Stegemann, „Some Remarks to 1QSa, to 1QSb, and to Qumran Messianism,“ *RevQ* 17 [1996]: 479-505, hier 495). Ein Versuch, diese Beobachtungen zu verbinden, besteht darin, einen gegenwärtigen Gebrauch der Segensregel anzunehmen, durch den das messianische Zeitalter antizipiert werden soll; vgl. Sarianna Metso, *The Serekh Texts, Companion to the Qumran Scrolls* 9 (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 55; Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin Books, 2004), 387. Gegen diese Annahme spricht jedoch, dass der Yahad zwischen der gegenwärtigen eschatologischen und der zukünftigen messianischen Zeit zu unterscheiden wusste. Die Gemeinde vertrat die Ansicht, dass die zadokidischen Priester gegenwärtig im Dienst sind, aber der königliche Messias noch erwartet wird. Selbst wenn man 1QSa eschatologisch interpretiert, zeigt die Kombination von 1QS und 1QSa, dass Regeln für die Gegenwart und die Zukunft gemeinsam überliefert werden konnten, so dass dies auch für 1QSb möglich erscheint. Überzeugender ist daher die Interpretation von Stegemann, der die Segensgebete eschatologisch unterscheidet und nicht alle der gleichen Perspektive zuordnet. Entsprechend seiner Interpretation von 1QSa ist lediglich der letzte Abschnitt von 1QSb futuristisch orientiert (Stegemann, „Some Remarks,“ 500). Ausführlicher erläutert in Michael R. Jost, *Engelgemeinschaft im irdischen Gottesdienst. Studien zu Texten aus Qumran und dem Neuen Testament*, WUNT II/505 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), 122-124.



den Maskil also zum Lobpreis (4Q511 63 iii 1-5). Der Maskil fordert aber auch die Zuhörer auf Gott zu erheben (4Q511 2 i 2) und in Jubel einzustimmen (4Q511 28-29,2) und Gott zu preisen (4Q511 16,4; 63 iv 1-2).

Die Lieder beschreiben somit eine kosmische und umkämpfte Wirklichkeit, in die Gott richtend eingreift und dadurch sein Volk befreien wird, was zum Lobpreis führt, welcher im letzten Teil der Komposition besonders zur Sprache kommt.<sup>39</sup> Die Lieder sind demzufolge nicht auf die apotropäische Funktion in der Gegenwart zu beschränken, sondern dienen auch der Gemeinschaft zur Vergewisserung der zukünftigen Heilszeit und zielen auf die Anbetung Gottes.

#### 4. Der Maskil und die Gemeinschaft

Die ersten drei Punkte skizzierten Aspekte des Wirklichkeitsverständnisses. Doch was sagen diese Lieder zur irdischen Gemeinschaft? Lassen sich einzelne Personen oder Personengruppen unterscheiden? Und wer ist eigentlich mit dem Maskil gemeint?

Die Sammlung enthält nummerierte Lieder, die dem Maskil gewidmet sind. So lautet der Beginn: למשכיל שיר, was in 4Q511 2 i 1 zu lesen ist und in Frg. 8,4 rekonstruiert werden kann, wonach noch die Nummerierung folgt שיר [למשכיל ש]. Maurice Baillet verstand diese Formulierung als ein *lamed auctoris*, so dass der Maskil als Autor der Lieder bezeichnet wäre.<sup>40</sup> Doch spricht die Rolle des Maskil in anderen Schriften vom Toten Meer dagegen, wo der Text eindeutig zu erkennen gibt, dass der Maskil nicht als Autor bezeichnet wird, sondern als derjenige, dem der nachfolgende Texte gewidmet ist, um ihn der Gemeinschaft zu lehren (z.B. 1QS III 13).<sup>41</sup> Dies wird auch bestätigt in 4Q510 1,4, wo der Sprecher sich selbst als Maskil bezeichnet, der die Majestät der Hoheit Gottes verkündigt (vgl. auch 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20,14). Damit lässt sich auch begründen, warum למשכיל nicht als Gattungsbezeichnung zu verstehen ist, wie es Robert Hawley nachweisen wollte.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Besonders in den Kolumnen XIV bis XVI; vgl. Angel, „Reading the Songs,“ 202.

<sup>40</sup> Vgl. Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4*, 215.

<sup>41</sup> Vgl. auch Alexander, „Wrestling against Wickedness,“ 319.

<sup>42</sup> Robert Hawley, „On Maskil in the Judean Desert Texts,“ *Henoch* 28 (2006): 43-77, besonders 71-72, der in 4Q510 1,4 darum von einer Personifizierung der Weisheit spricht. Diese Interpretation ist aber wenig wahrscheinlich mit Blick auf die Verwendung in 1QS, 1QH<sup>a</sup> und auch 4Q400-407. Wenn man darüber hinaus nicht nur die Überschriften in liturgischen Texten beachtet, sondern auch den Gebrauch in Dan 11-12, erhält das personale Verständnis zusätzlich Plausibilität; Charlotte Hempel, „Maskil(im) and Rabbim. From Daniel to Qumran,“ in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays*

Sprachlich lässt sich festhalten, dass einige Abschnitte in 1. Sg. formuliert sind, so dass der Maskil persönlich spricht und er Gott in 2. Sg. direkt anspricht (4Q511 18 ii; 42; 63). Andere Abschnitte, die erhalten geblieben sind, handeln aber in 3. Sg. oder 3. Pl., womit der Maskil in seinen Liedern auch beschreibend über oder zu seinem Umfeld spricht (4Q511 35,1-5). 4Q511 63 ii 2-5 bietet ein Beispiel, wie zwar eine individuelle Sicht des Maskil leitend ist, der sich aber letztlich als Teil der „Männer des Bundes“ versteht:

„Ich will benedeien Deinen Namen und an den Terminen meiner Bezeugungen will ich erzählen Deine Wundererweise und ich graviere sie ein als Vorschriften des Lobes Deiner Herrlichkeit. Im Anfang jedes Herzensgedankens (ist) Erkenntnis und Hebeopfer des Ergusses von Lippen der Gerechtigkeit. Und in der Bereitschaft für allen Dienst der Wahrheit und mit allen [Män]nern des Bundes [ ].“<sup>43</sup>

Wenn die Ergänzung in Z. 5 stimmt, dann ist das „Ich“ mit allen Männern des Bundes verbunden.<sup>44</sup> Dennoch hat der Maskil eine hervorgehobene Funktion innerhalb der Gemeinschaft. Besonders ausgeprägt wird dies in Frg. 63 iii 1-5 beschrieben:

„Und ich – Deine Gerechtigkeit lässt meine Zunge jubeln, denn Du hast eröffnet und auf meine Lippe gelegt eine Quelle von Lob und in mein Herz das Geheimnis vom Anfang allen Werkes eines Mannes und von der Erfüllung der Tätigkeiten vollkommen Wandelnder, und (auch) Gesetze für allen Dienst ihrer Taten, um gerecht zu sprechen einen Gerechten durch Deine Wahrheit und einen Frevler zu verurteilen. *Vacat* Um durch seine Schuld(feststellung) Frieden zu verkünden allen Männern des Bundes und eine Stimme des Schreckens laut zu erh[eb]en: Wehe allen, die [ihn] brechen!“<sup>45</sup>

Diese Funktion des Maskil, als Unterweiser und Beurteiler, ist auch in der Gemeinderegel zu finden (1QS IX 12-21). Offensichtlich versteht sich der Maskil nicht nur als Teil der Männer des Bundes, sondern auch im Gegenüber als leitende und beurteilende Autorität.

Trotz dieser hervorgehobenen Stellung und besonderen Erkenntnis kann sich der Maskil aber ähnlich der Niedrigkeitsdoxologien beschreiben (4Q511 28-29,3), wie man sie auch im Schlusspsalm der Gemeinderegel (1QS XI 9-11) oder häufig in den Hodayot findet (1QH<sup>a</sup> VII 12-20; VII 21-VIII 41; XI 20-37; XII 6-XIII 6; XVI 4-XVII 36; XIX 6-X 6;

in *Honour of Michael A. Knibb*, ed. Charlotte Hempel und Judith M. Lieu, JSJSup 111 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 133-156.

<sup>43</sup> Leicht veränderte Übersetzung von Maier, *Qumran-Essener*, 654.

<sup>44</sup> Vorsichtiger bei der Rekonstruktion ist Angel, „Reading the Songs“, 210.

<sup>45</sup> Leicht veränderte Übersetzung von Maier, *Qumran-Essener*, 654.

XX 7-XXII 42; XXIII 1-XXV 33). In 4Q511 28-29,2-4 sind beide Aspekte ineinander verwoben, obwohl auch hier der Text fragmentarisch ist:

„Und i[ch danke Di]r, denn um Deiner Ehre willen [le]gstest Du Erkenntnis in den Rat meines Staubes, um zu [lobsingen Dir], und ich – Spucke (?) und ein Gebilde von [Lehm], ich wurde abgekniffen und aus Finsternis stammt [mein] Gek[nete -]. [ ] und Unrecht ist in den Innereien meines Fleisches.“<sup>46</sup>

Doch diese Erkenntnisse sind nicht nur auf den Maskil beschränkt. Er teilt nicht nur das Niedrigkeitsbewusstsein mit allen Mitgliedern, sondern auch die besondere Erkenntnis. Der Maskil hat kein Erkenntnismonopol. Alle, die Erkenntnis haben, werden darum aufgefordert, Gott zu erheben (4Q511 2 i 2). Für alle, die Gott fürchten, kommt daher Rat (סֹדֶר) von Gott (4Q511 52; 54-55; 57-59 iii 5). Offensichtlich ist das Wissen des Maskil kein individuelles Geheimwissen, sondern eine Erkenntnis der ganzen Gemeinschaft. Zwar spricht oft ein „Ich“, das deshalb zunächst mit dem Maskil verbunden werden kann. Andere Aussagen zeigen aber, dass sich das „Ich“ in Gemeinschaft mit anderen sieht, in welcher das „Ich“ eingebunden ist und somit die Identität aller Mitglieder beschreibt.<sup>47</sup> Dafür spricht auch, dass aus dem Text keine Informationen gewonnen werden können, die Auskunft über die Person des Maskil geben. Weder erfährt man Spezifisches über seine Herkunft, noch über sein Leben oder über seine konkreten Beziehungen. Alle Informationen bleiben allgemein, so dass daraus keine Schlüsse zu seiner Person gezogen werden können. Daher steht in diesem Text hinter dem Maskil nicht notwendigerweise eine einzelne, historische Person. Vielmehr ist der Maskil ein Repräsentant der Gemeinschaft, der die Autorität für seine Aufgabe allein aufgrund der liturgischen Regeln und Texte erhält.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Leicht veränderte Übersetzung von Maier, *Qumran-Essener*, 650.

<sup>47</sup> Siehe hierzu besonders Carol A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space. Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*, STDJ 52 (Leiden: Brill, 2004) und Angel, „Maskil“, 1-27. Besonders ausführlich wurde dieser Sachverhalt in den Hodayot nachgewiesen, siehe z.B. Judith H. Newman, „The Thanksgiving Hymns of 1QH<sup>a</sup> and the Construction of the Ideal Sage through Liturgical Performance“, in *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls. John Collins at Seventy*, ed. Joel Baden, Hindy Najman und Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, JSJSup 175 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 940-957 oder Angela K. Harkins, *Reading with an "I" to the Heavens. Looking at the Qumran Hodayot through the Lens of Visionary Traditions*, Serie Ekstasis (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012).

<sup>48</sup> Dies entspricht auch dem Zeugnis der Gemeinderegeln. Nirgendwo wird darin dem Maskil ein besonderer Platz zugewiesen, so wie es für die Priester aber der Fall ist (1QS VI 3-4; 1QS VIII 1). In der sonst rigiden Hierarchie (1QS VI 25-27) erhält er keine gesonderte Stellung; vgl. hierzu Michael R. Jost, „*Yaḥad*, Maskil, Priests and

So lässt sich letztlich festhalten, dass die Lieder zwar dem Maskil gewidmet sind, dass sie aber zugleich einen gemeinschaftlichen Fokus haben, welcher besonders zu Beginn und am Ende der Komposition zur Sprache kommt. Die Lieder handeln zuerst vom ganzen Volk Gottes, dem wahren Israel (4Q511 2 i 7), wie in Kolumne I zu lesen ist. Der letzte Teil wiederum ist geprägt von Lobpreisungen der Taten Gottes, der Verkündigung des Friedens und Verheißungen für die Gemeinschaft, womit die gemeinschaftliche Perspektive die Komposition umrahmt.<sup>49</sup>

Diese Beobachtungen sprechen zusätzlich gegen eine zu eng gefasste Deutung des Textes als eines apotropäischen Textes oder einer Beschwörungsformel, zumal diese meist eine individuelle Perspektive einnehmen (vgl. 4Q213a; 4Q560; Jub 6,1-6; 12,19-20). Darin liegt auch ein Unterschied zu Ps 91, welcher oft als Parallele zu den Liedern angeführt wird (vgl. auch 11Q11). Dieser Psalm betet individuell, ohne einen Bezug zum Volk Gottes. Der persönliche Schutz und die eigene Rettung werden erbeten. Legt man die Lieder des Maskil daneben, fällt demgegenüber die kosmisch-gemeinschaftliche Perspektive auf. Die Lieder zielen nicht auf das persönliche Wohlergehen, sondern die Durchsetzung der Herrschaft Gottes (מלכותו כבוד 4Q511 10,4 rekonstruiert aufgrund 4Q510 1,4).

## 5. Die funktionale Unterscheidung einer Gruppe innerhalb der Gemeinschaft in eschatologischer Perspektive

Gibt es weitere Hinweise zur Gemeinschaft und ihrer Struktur, unabhängig von der Figur des Maskil? Grundsätzlich lassen sich nur wenig konkrete Informationen hierzu in den Liedern finden. Gewisse Informationen sind dennoch aus dem Fragment 35 zu gewinnen, dessen eschatologische Perspektive wir bereits im dritten Abschnitt analysiert haben.<sup>50</sup> Zuerst fällt auf, dass eine Gruppe innerhalb der Gemeinschaft hervorgehoben wird: „Unter den siebenfach Geläuterten und unter den Heiligen wird Gott (einige) für sich weih[en] zu einem ewigen Heiligtum und (als) Läuterung unter den Gereinigten.“ (4Q511 35 2-3)

Angels – Their Relation in the Community Rule (1QS),“ in *Law, Literature, and Society in Legal Texts from Qumran: Papers from the Ninth Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Leuven 2016*, ed. Jutta Jokiranta und Molly Zahn, STDJ 128 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 207-229.

<sup>49</sup> Joseph Angel beobachtet, dass die Rede in erster Person Singular erst in der Rekonstruktion ab Kolumne V zu finden sind und der Lobpreis besonders die Kolumnen XIV bis XVI inhaltlich bestimmt; vgl. Angel, „Reading the Songs,“ 202.

<sup>50</sup> Eine ausführlichere Exegese dieses Fragmentes biete ich in meiner Dissertation Jost, *Engelgemeinschaft*, 146-161.

Nur *einige* sind für eine bestimmte Aufgabe geweiht.<sup>51</sup> Diese auserwählte Gruppe hat die Funktion, gemeinsam den ewigen Tempel zu bilden und der Läuterung der Gereinigten zu dienen. Die Gemeinschaft ist also funktional beschrieben.

Mit Blick auf die Frage der Strukturierung der Gruppe ist hier noch genauer zu analysieren, wer denn überhaupt mit den Geläuterten und Heiligen gemeint ist?<sup>52</sup> Philip Alexander sieht damit besonders die Engel angesprochen.<sup>53</sup> Zwar lässt sich die siebenfache Läuterung als Hinweis auf die göttliche, himmlische Herkunft verstehen (vgl. Ps 12,7). Dennoch können ähnliche Aussagen auch von der irdischen Gemeinde gemacht werden (vgl. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 13,18). Björn Frennesson sieht darum die irdische Gemeinde angesprochen.<sup>54</sup> Die „Heiligen“ sind aber in vielen Texten des Yaḥad die Engel. Joseph Angel erkennt darum hier, auch vor dem Hintergrund seiner Auslegung von 4Q511 2 i 1-10, eine doppelte Rede von irdischer und himmlischer Gemeinde. Demnach wären hier einerseits die irdische Gemeinde (בְּמִזְוִקֵי שִׁבְעָתַיִם) und andererseits die Engel (וּבְקִדְוִשִׁים) angesprochen, die zusammen ein „ewiges Heiligtum“ und eine „Läuterung unter den Gereinigten“ bilden (Frg. 35 3).<sup>55</sup>

Die Parallelen zu 1QS XI 7-8 sind offensichtlich, wo Engel und irdische Gemeinde zusammen als Fundament des heiligen Gebäudes (סֹד מְבִנֵּית קֹדֶשׁ) beschrieben sind. Im Unterschied zu 4Q511 35 ist in 1QS XI 7-8 die Rede vom *Fundament* des heiligen Gebäudes, welches der ganze Yaḥad bildet. Die Gemeinderegel zielt damit auf die gegenwärtige Gemeinschaft als metaphorische Ermöglichung des gegenwärtigen Tempeldienstes, wofür alle Mitglieder verantwortlich sind. In den Liedern des Maskil ist jedoch das eschatologische, *ewige* Heiligtum gemeint, welches lediglich von einer auserwählten Schar gebildet wird. Dies korrespondiert jedoch mit der Aussage in 1QS VIII 1-14.

<sup>51</sup> „The writer evidently believed that some, but not all, of the members of the sect would achieve apotheosis at the eschaton to serve as priests in the heavenly temple alongside the angels.“ Davila, „Heavenly Ascents,“ 479. Diese Interpretation begründet er damit, dass „[t]he verb קָדַשׁ in the *Hip'il* stem takes a direct object in the accusative, so the preposition –ב is used here in the sense of ‚among‘ (cf. GKC § 119 i and the usage in Deut 15:19)“ (S. 479 Anm. 48).

<sup>52</sup> Die Diskussion ausführlich beschrieben hat Angel, *Otherworldly and Eschatological Priesthood*, 129-132.

<sup>53</sup> Vgl. Philip S. Alexander, *The Mystical Texts. Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and Related Manuscripts*, LSTS 61 (London: T&T Clark International, 2006), 69.

<sup>54</sup> Vgl. Björn Frennesson, *In a Common Rejoicing. Liturgical Communion with Angels in Qumran*, Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 14 (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1999), 74-75.

<sup>55</sup> Vgl. Angel, „Maskil,“ 22-24; Angel, *Otherworldly and Eschatological Priesthood*, 129-132. Diese Interpretation bot auch schon Davila, „Heavenly Ascents,“ 478-479.

Darin wird ebenfalls innerhalb der Gemeinschaft eine Elite-Gruppe<sup>56</sup> ausgesondert, die eine Stätte des Allerheiligsten für Aaron darstellt (1QS VIII 8). Inwiefern die Inhalte in 4Q511 35 gegenwärtige Strukturen der Gemeinschaft beschreiben oder doch eine erhoffte Wirklichkeit, muss an dieser Stelle nicht weiter entschieden werden. All diese Beobachtungen belegen jedoch, dass die Lieder weit mehr als nur der Abschreckung böser Geister dienen, sondern viel umfassender die Wirklichkeit des Yahad beschreiben.

## 6. Die Priester in der Gemeinschaft

Doch welche Rolle haben die Priester in den Liedern des Maskil? Wir erfahren nicht viel darüber. Der einzige Nachweis des Begriffes „Priester“ (כֹּהֵן) ist auch in 4Q511 35. Ob mit den Priestern explizit das erbliche Priestertum gemeint ist oder lediglich die priesterliche Funktion der zukünftigen Gemeinschaft, die sich sowohl aus Priestern und Laien zusammensetzt, ist nicht definitiv zu klären. Weil Gott sich aber dieses Volk der Gerechtigkeit neu aussondert, ist eine Begrenzung auf das erbliche Priestertum nicht zwingend. Denn die Gemeinschaft insgesamt wird als heilig bezeichnet. So hat Gott Israel in 12 heilige Lager geordnet (4Q511 2 i 7). Weder werden die Söhne Aarons, noch die Söhne Zadoks oder die Söhne Levis genannt. Eine spezielle Rolle der erblichen Priester scheint darum nicht im Blick.<sup>57</sup> Hingegen werden gewisse priesterliche Aufgaben mit dem Maskil verbunden. So spricht das „Ich“ der Lieder vom Loben Gottes und vom Hebopfer der Äußerung von Lippen der Gerechtigkeit (4Q511 63 ii). Die Fragmente, die uns vorliegen, schenken somit dem irdischen Priestertum keine besondere Beachtung.<sup>58</sup> Johann Maier formuliert darum vorsichtig: „It remains difficult to decide whether such liturgical and poetic pieces remained more or less exclusive characteristics of priestly self-consciousness. They could have been generalized and applied to lay members of the

<sup>56</sup> Der Begriff Elite-Gruppe wurde geprägt von John J. Collins, „Beyond the Qumran Community: Social Organization in the Dead Sea Scrolls,“ *DSD* 16 (2009): 351-369 (hier 361). Siehe auch Alison Schofield, „Forms of Community,“ in *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 533-546 (hier 539-540).

<sup>57</sup> So auch Angel, *Otherworldly and Eschatological Priesthood*, 166-167.

<sup>58</sup> Ähnlich verhält es sich auch in den Sabbatopferliedern; vgl. Michael R. Jost, „Sacerdotalisation et ‚liturgisation‘ – L’impact de la liturgie et de la communion avec les anges sur le sacerdoce dans la Liturgie Angélique (4QShirShabb),“ in *La ‘sacerdotalisation’ dans les premiers écrits mystiques juifs et chrétiens : Actes du colloque international tenu à l’Université de Lausanne du 26 au 28 octobre 2015*, ed. Simon Mimouni, Louis Painchaud und David Hamidović, *Judaïsme antique et origines du christianisme* 22 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), 145-164.



community, a possible development which, however, remains hypothetical.“<sup>59</sup> Und Robert Kugler gibt zu bedenken, dass insgesamt eine inkonsistente Verwendung von priesterlichen Titeln in den Schriften vom Toten Meer vorliegt und sich erst im Verlauf der Zeit eine hervorgehobene Rolle von als Priester bezeichneten Personen herausbildet. „That one ought to be careful about creating socio-historical constructs of the Qumran community on the basis of the literary witness as it is presently understood.“<sup>60</sup>

Letztlich bleibt auch die Frage offen, ob Mitglieder, die als Maskil auftreten konnten, Priester waren oder nicht. Der Maskil wird nie in den Schriften, die man in den Höhlen um Qumran gefunden hat, als Priester bezeichnet. Dazu scheint er nur eine begrenzte Tätigkeit als Priester zu haben. Daraus folgert Robert Kugler, dass er ein Laie war.<sup>61</sup> Doch gleichzeitig hatten die Priester im Yahad eine hervorgehobene Stellung in den Versammlungen und Gebeten (vgl. 1QS VI 3-5 und VIII 1). Daher liegt es nahe auch im Maskil einen Priester anzunehmen, der ja die Gemeinde in Gebet und im Gotteslob leiten soll. Eine Entscheidung ist an dieser Stelle nicht möglich.<sup>62</sup>

## 7. Die leitende Autorität der Gemeinschaft

Wer ist dann die leitende Autorität in den Liedern? Die Priester sind es nicht, da sie nur am Rande genannt werden. Der Maskil kann es ebenfalls nicht sein, weil er in der Hierarchie keine gesonderte Stellung hat und nicht als Leiter, sondern als Repräsentant der Gemeinschaft angesehen wird. Diese leitende Autorität ist darum Gott selbst. Er hat die Erde geschaffen (4Q511 30), die Festzeiten gesetzt und sein Volk erwählt (4Q511 2 i). Bei ihm sucht die Gemeinde Schutz und Geborgenheit (4Q511 8). Und vor der Kraft Gottes erschrecken und verstecken sich die Feinde (4Q510 1). Er hilft und richtet (4Q511 10). Gott ließ den Beter Erkenntnis zukommen und Gott ist es, der ihn zurechtweist, so dass der Beter sich selbst in seiner Niedrigkeit erkennt (4Q511 18 ii und 4Q511 28-29). Von ihm her kommt das Gericht und der Rat für alle, die ihn fürchten (5Q511 52-59). Gott weiht sich selbst eine heilige Schar, die ihm dienen soll (4Q511 35).

<sup>59</sup> Johann Maier, „Songs of the Sage,“ *EDSS* 2:889-890, 890.

<sup>60</sup> Robert A. Kugler, „Priesthood at Qumran,“ in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. Peter W. Flint und James C. VanderKam, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2:93-116 (hier 114).

<sup>61</sup> Kugler, „Priesthood at Qumran,“ 107-108.

<sup>62</sup> Gründe, weshalb wir keine Informationen zur Person des Maskil finden, habe ich erörtert in Jost, „Yahad,“ 223-224.

Darum ist es nicht der Beter, der aufgrund seiner eigenen Autorität die bösen Geister erschreckt, sondern, wie 4Q511 51,2 belegt, Gott. Gott handelt durch den Mund des Maskil (רַב־כֹּחַ יִפְחֹד). Folglich sind die Worte, die der Maskil spricht, Gottes Worte. Und diese Worte verleihen dem Maskil die Autorität. Dies wird besonders deutlich in 4Q511 1, wovon wir bereits oben wichtige Aspekte besprochen haben. Interessant ist an dieser Stelle die Begründung in Zeilen 6 bis 8, warum in ihren Gebieten keine Frevelgeister sind:

„Denn es gibt [kein] Verderber in ihren Gebieten und Frevelgeister gehen nicht darin umher, denn es erstrahlte die Herrlichkeit Gottes der Erkenntnis in seinen Worten und alle Söhne des Unrechts werden nicht versorgt.“<sup>63</sup>

Die Erscheinung der Herrlichkeit Gottes wird demnach mit einer bestimmten Erkenntnis in Verbindung gebracht. Damit ist wahrscheinlich die Erkenntnis gemeint, die Gott dem Maskil offenbarte (vgl. 4Q511 28-29,2-3 und 63 iii 1-2) und die in den Liedern selbst ausgesprochen wird. Die Erkenntnis Gottes wird daher nicht mystisch erfahren, sondern ist gebunden an seine Worte.<sup>64</sup> Verbunden mit der Einleitung, dass die Lieder zur Abschreckung der bösen Geister dienen, ist somit der apotropäische Zweck der Lieder unzweifelhaft enthalten. Zugleich belegt diese Aussage, dass die Lieder nicht nur auf die Gegner im kosmischen Kampf ausgerichtet sind, sondern primär auf Gott, dessen Worte wiederum die Gemeinschaft selbst ansprechen. Sie unterweisen auch die Betenden in der wahren Erkenntnis der gegenwärtigen und zukünftigen Geschehnisse. Und genau in dieser Erkenntnis dieser Worte Gottes liegt auch wiederum die Macht. Bilhah Nitzan folgert deshalb präzise: „It is thus evident, that the magic power alluded to here is based on a different principle, namely the power of the hymn itself [...]. The full impact of this conclusion is that the magical power of ‚The Word‘ is embedded in the contents and idea of the hymns.“<sup>65</sup>

Wie leitet und beschützt also Gott die Gemeinschaft? Meines Erachtens geschieht es nicht dadurch, dass Gott eine besondere Person als Maskil beruft. Seine Persönlichkeit spielt keine Rolle. Gott schenkt aber Erkenntnis, die in den Liedern festgehalten ist. Gott leitet und beschützt somit die Gemeinschaft, indem er die Herrlichkeit seiner Erkenntnis in seinen Worten erstrahlen lässt, die dem Maskil geschenkt sind und welcher diese mit dem Yaḥad teilt.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Leicht veränderte Übersetzung von Maier, *Qumran-Essener*, 650.

<sup>64</sup> Die Wichtigkeit der Erkenntnis in den Liedern des Maskil beschreibt auch Angel, *Otherworldly and Eschatological Priesthood*, 123-126.

<sup>65</sup> Nitzan, „Hymns from Qumran“, 58.

<sup>66</sup> Mit Blick auf 1QS habe ich dasselbe beschrieben in Jost, „Yaḥad“, 223-225.

## Fazit

Die *Lieder des Maskil* beschreiben eine kosmische, umkämpfte Wirklichkeit. Irdische Welt und Geisterwelt stehen in einem Kampf zwischen guten und bösen Mächten. Es wird jedoch das Gericht Gottes erwartet, das entsprechend der apokalyptischen Hoffnung die zukünftige Vernichtung des Bösen bedeutet, aber zugleich auch der Läuterung des eigenen Volkes dient. Damit soll nicht nur das Böse abgeschreckt werden, sondern es ist zugleich eine innergemeinschaftliche Disziplinierung im Blick. Die Lieder belegen ferner eine Aussonderung einer Gruppe, das als Volk des Thrones Gottes im ewigen Tempel dient. Die Lieder sind daher nicht nur in ihrer gegenwärtigen apotropäischen Funktion zu lesen, sondern auch in ihrer offenbarenden Funktion. Die Lieder schenken verheißungsvolle Erkenntnisse, die die Gemeinschaft lenken und eine apokalyptische Perspektive eröffnen. Diese Perspektive reicht über die gegenwärtig umkämpfte Situation hinaus bis in die von allem Bösen befreite Zukunft nach dem Gericht Gottes. Und obwohl die Lieder dem Maskil gewidmet sind, und obwohl das Ich viele Abschnitte prägt, so bleibt dennoch deutlich, dass das Ich sich als Teil einer Gemeinschaft versteht. Diese Gemeinschaft wird als Israel und Volk des Thrones Gottes beschrieben. Alle Mitglieder stehen somit in der Gegenwart Gottes, d.h. in dieser himmlischen Wirklichkeit der Gegenwart der Engel, in der sie sich bergen und dadurch sich auch des göttlichen Schutzes vergewissern, was in den Liedern zum Lobpreis Gottes führt. Die Lieder dienen daher nicht nur dem individuellen Schutz und der Abwehr böser Mächte, sondern auch der Konstituierung der Gemeinschaft und ihrer Stellung vor Gott. Darum ist die apotropäische Funktion in den Kontext einer umfassenderen liturgischen Wirklichkeit zu stellen, die im Verlauf der Komposition entfaltet wird, worauf Joseph Angel bereits hingewiesen hat und die in diesem Aufsatz mit Blick auf die Eschatologie und das Verhältnis von Maskil und Gemeinschaft weiter ausgearbeitet wurde.<sup>67</sup> Damit zeigt sich schließlich eine ideologische Nähe zum Yahad, für welchen die liturgische Gemeinschaft ein zentrales Element der eigenen Identitätsstiftung war,<sup>68</sup> ebenso wie eine strukturelle Nähe zum Yahad, dessen Rede

<sup>67</sup> Vgl. hierzu Daniel K. Falk, „Liturgical Progression and the Experience of Transformation in Prayers from Qumran,“ *DSD* 22 (2015): 267-284, der 4Q503, 4Q504, 4/11QShirShabb, 1Q34, 4Q507-509 untersucht, aber nicht 4Q511.

<sup>68</sup> Siehe hierzu John J. Collins, „Prayer and the Meaning of Ritual in the Dead Sea Scrolls,“ in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65<sup>th</sup> Birthday*, ed. Jeremy Penner, Ken M. Penner und Cecilia Wassén, *STDJ* 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 69-85; Robert A. Kugler, „Making All Experience Religious. The Hegemony of Ritual at Qumran,“ *JSJ* 33 (2002): 131-152; Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, „When the Bell Rings: The

vom Maskil und einer ausgesonderten Gruppe in 1QS mit dem Zeugnis der Lieder des Maskil korrespondiert.

Die konkrete rituelle Verwendung der Komposition bleibt jedoch unbestimmt, weil wir hierzu keine Angaben haben. Während wir bei den Sabbatopferliedern zumindest den Zeitpunkt kennen, für die die Lieder komponiert sind, so gibt es in den Liedern des Maskil nur wenige Hinweise auf die Annahme eines liturgischen Kalenders (4Q511 63 ii 2 „Ich will benedeien Deinen Namen und an den Terminen meiner Bezeugungen will ich erzählen“).<sup>69</sup> Dennoch wurden verschiedene Vorschläge gemacht, zu welchem Zeitpunkt die Lieder situiert werden könnten. Esther Eshel vermutet die Verwendung während der jährlichen Bundesfeier.<sup>70</sup> Bei diesem Vorschlag wäre anzunehmen, dass die Lieder an einem Stück gesungen wurden, womit die Zusammengehörigkeit der Lieder in der Komposition betont wäre. In einer Gemeinschaft, die mit der Wirklichkeit der Zwei-Geister-Lehre lebt, wird aber der Schutz vor dem Bösen und die Verfluchung des Bösen generell ein Thema gewesen sein, weshalb die Verwendung auch zu anderen liturgischen Zeiten plausibel ist. Daraufhin deutet die Aussage in 4Q511 63 ii 2 hin, die eine zeitliche Aufteilung der Lieder suggeriert.<sup>71</sup> Darum ist der Vorschlag von Bilhah Nitzan interessant, die wie Shemaryahu Talmon die Möglichkeit erwägt, dass die Lieder in den vier Tagen zwischen den Jahreszeiten gesprochen wurden, die als besonders gefährlich angesehen wurden (vgl. 1 Hen 72,13.19.26.31; 75,1-2; 82,4-6).<sup>72</sup> Die Anzahl von vier Liedern könnte darauf hinweisen, auch wenn die Möglichkeit besteht, dass die Komposition mehr Lieder umfasste.<sup>73</sup> Demgemäß hätten wir hier einen Jahreszyklus vorliegen, der auf die vier Quartale aufgeteilt worden wäre, entsprechend der Verwendung der Sabbatopferlieder, die auf die Sabbate des ersten Quartals verteilt sind. Für diese Interpretation spricht, dass sich einerseits thematische Entwicklungen zeigen, die eine fortschreitende Perspektive voraussetzen, und dass andererseits die Lieder dennoch aus ähnlichen Elementen bestehen und damit eine

Qumran Rituals of Affliction in Context,“ in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages, and Cultures*, ed. Armin Lange, Emanuel Tov und Matthias Weigold, 2 vols., VTSup 140 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 2:533-546; Russell C.D. Arnold, „The Dead Sea Scrolls, Qumran, and Ritual Studies,“ in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context*, 2:547-562.

<sup>69</sup> Maier, *Qumran-Essener*, 654. Weitere Hinweise für einen liturgischen Hinweis sind gesammelt im ersten Abschnitt „Die kosmische Wirklichkeit.“

<sup>70</sup> Eshel, „Apotropaic Prayers,“ 83-84 und ähnlich auch Angel, „Reading the Songs,“ 195.

<sup>71</sup> Vgl. Penner, *Patterns of Daily Prayer*, 189.

<sup>72</sup> Vgl. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 238.

<sup>73</sup> Vgl. Angel, „Reading the Songs,“ 193.

repetitive Anlage haben.<sup>74</sup> Doch letztlich kann darüber nur spekuliert werden, weil explizite Hinweise fehlen. Es sollte aber deutlich geworden sein, dass die Lieder des Maskil nicht nur als magisch-apotropäische Gebete, sondern als liturgische Lieder zu interpretieren sind, die neue Einsichten zum Selbst- und Wirklichkeitsverständnis der Gemeinschaft erlauben.

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<sup>74</sup> Beschrieben bei Nitzan, „Hymns from Qumran.“

# NEW IDENTIFICATIONS OF 4QPALEOGEN-EXOD<sup>L</sup> (4Q11) FRAGMENTS

## *Summary*

This article proposes new identifications of scroll fragments from 4Qpaleo-Gen-Exod<sup>L</sup>, some of which have been included in the official edition and others that have not been associated with the scroll so far. The fragments are transcribed, identified, and in some cases joined with further scroll fragments. The study is accompanied by a discussion on the implications of the new identifications.

## *Résumé*

Cet article propose de nouvelles identifications de fragments appartenant à 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>L</sup>, certains étaient inclus dans l'édition officielle et d'autres n'étaient pas associés à ce rouleau jusqu'à présent. Les fragments sont transcrits, identifiés, et, dans certains cas, joints à d'autres fragments. Cette étude est accompagnée d'une discussion sur les implications de ces nouvelles identifications.

**4** QPALEOGEN-EXOD<sup>L</sup>, also known as 4Q11, is a fragmentary manuscript that preserves text from the last verse of Genesis and portions of Exod 1:1 to 36:36. This study identifies several small fragments of the scroll. Some of these fragments were transcribed in the official edition of the scroll published in 1992 by Patrick Skehan, Eugene Ulrich, and Judith Sanderson,<sup>1</sup> who, however, did not associate them with a specific text of Genesis or Exodus. Fortunately, we are now privileged to have access to new images that were not accessible to the editors.

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<sup>1</sup> Patrick Skehan, Eugene Ulrich, and Judith Sanderson, "11. 4QpaleoGenesis-Exodus<sup>L</sup>," in *Qumran Cave 4 IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts*; DJD 9 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 17–50. Images in this article are courtesy of the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library of the Israel Antiquities Authority; photographer: Shay Halevi. This article was partially funded by the [www.paleohebrewdss.com](http://www.paleohebrewdss.com) project.



Available from the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library of the Israel Antiquities Authority, these images allow us to improve our readings and offer new identifications. Other fragments discussed in this study have not yet been published. Some were cataloged but not transcribed by the editors, while others were not assigned to 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup> at all.

# 1. MATERIAL EVIDENCE AND THE OFFICIAL EDITION OF 4QPALEOGEN-EXOD<sup>1</sup>

According to Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup> consists of sixty-four fragments. It was written in the paleo-Hebrew script and has been dated paleographically to the second or first century BCE.<sup>2</sup> Due to the large size of the writing block, the large bottom margin, the skilled script, and the limited number of scribal interventions, Emanuel Tov classified 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup> as a *de luxe* edition.<sup>3</sup>

The recto surfaces of the fragments are extremely damaged. The upper layer of the skin has peeled away in several places, leaving the inner layer exposed. Another material feature of this scroll is the deterioration of the ink, probably due to its chemical composition. In some instances, the letters are legible, even though the ink has not been preserved. The letters have been engraved and may be recognized by their outlines. It should be noted that in the official edition of the scroll, as well as in this paper, outlined letters have been transcribed in the same way as those identified by the presence of ink.

Of the scroll's sixty-four fragments, only fragments 1–38 have been identified in the official edition. Fragments 39–50 were transcribed but not identified. As for fragments 51–64, they were not edited as “they have no decipherable letters or were identified only after the edition was completed.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Mark David McLean, *The Use and Development of Paleo-Hebrew in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Harvard University, 1982), 66, dated 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup> between 100–25 BCE. Antony Perrot and Matthieu Richelle, “The Dead Sea Scrolls Palaeo-Hebrew Script: Its Roots in Hebrew Scribal Tradition,” in *The Hebrew Bible Manuscripts: A Millennium*, ed. Élodie Attia and Antony Perrot; Textual History of the Bible Supplement (Leiden: Brill, 2021), prefer a date in the second century BCE. Michael Langlois, “Dead Sea Scrolls Paleography and the Samaritan Pentateuch,” in *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Michael Langlois (Leuven: Peeters 2019), 272, dates 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup> to the third century BCE, “though earlier and later dates are possible.” In some important respects, Langlois’ general typology seems a bit too early. For example, even the earliest of the Qumran paleo-Hebrew scripts were evidently written with reed pens, which only became common in Judea in the third century BCE; see Drew Longacre, “Comparative Hellenistic and Roman Manuscript Studies (CHRoMS): Script Interactions and Hebrew/Aramaic Writing Culture,” *COMSt Bulletin* 7, no 1 (2021): 7–50.

<sup>3</sup> Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, STDJ 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 119.

<sup>4</sup> Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, “11. 4QpaleoGenesis-Exodus<sup>1</sup>,” 50.

The number of fragments that belong to 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>L</sup> is, in fact, even greater. We recently found a small fragment that belongs to 4Q11—but was not published in the edition—in the plates of the unidentified fragments published in DJD 33. The association of the fragment with 4Q11 is based on the similarity of the script of the legible letters and on the typical peeling of the upper skin layer.

Moreover, IAA plate 395, whose fragments were assigned to 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>L</sup>, consists of twenty-eight fragments.<sup>5</sup> Of these, only six fragments are assigned to 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>L</sup> in the official edition.<sup>6</sup> However, the other twenty-two belong to 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>L</sup> as well, because they share material features. The surface of these fragments and the deterioration of the ink in cases where traces of letters have been preserved correspond to the materiality of the other 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>L</sup> fragments. Moreover, although most of the plate 395 fragments are barely legible, sporadically preserved letters do appear in some. These letters correspond to the script of 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>L</sup>, indicating that the fragments derive from the same manuscript. Consequently, we posit that 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>L</sup> comprises at least eighty-seven fragments.

This study proposes new identifications for fragments in four categories: (1) those transcribed, but not identified in the official edition (§2.1); (2) those included, but not transcribed or identified in the official edition (§2.2); (3) an unidentified fragment that was not associated with the scroll so far (we numbered this fragment 65) (§2.3); (4) unpublished fragments from IAA plate 395 (§2.4). Unfortunately, of the unpublished fragments, only two are identifiable. We number these fragments 66–67, based on their association with the text of Exodus.

## 2. NEW IDENTIFICATIONS

### 2.1 Fragments transcribed, but not identified in the official edition

#### 2.1.1 *Frag. 41: Exod 18:19–21* (IAA 398.8; PAM 42.803)<sup>7</sup>

○○[]◦ ה[	1
] ◦ם ל◦ע ה◦[	2
] ל◦ [	3

<sup>5</sup> See Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, “11. 4QpaleoGenesis-Exodus<sup>L</sup>,” 25. Image at <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-371331>.

<sup>6</sup> Fragments 51 (IAA 395.17); 52 (IAA 395.26); 53 (IAA 395.11); 56 (IAA 395.15); 59 (IAA 395.12); 62 (IAA 395.22).

<sup>7</sup> Image at <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-475354>. The scribe consistently used dots for word division, but we do not transcribe them in our transcriptions.

Fragment 41 was left unidentified in the official edition, with the possible identification with Exod 40:15.<sup>8</sup> The editors' conclusion is based on the faulty transcription of line 2: ל[היות להם]. The letter traces cannot be read in this way, however. Conversely, the proposed identification with Exod 18:19–21 matches the legible letters, as well as the remaining traces.

Moreover, fragment 41 has physical joins with fragment 20 on three sides. The traces on all three lines fit the text missing in fragment 20 perfectly (fig. 1). As such, we consider this fragment certainly identified, yielding the following transcription of 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup> 20+41 lines 5–7:

5 האלהים] וְהָ[בֹא]תָה אֵת הַדְּבָרִים אֲלֵהָאֱלֹהִים וְהָ[ר]ת[ה אִתָּה]ם אֵת הַחֶק  
6 ים וְאֵת הַתּוֹרוֹת וְהוֹדַעַת לָהֶם אֵת הַדֶּרֶךְ אֲשֶׁר יֵלְכוּ בָּהּ וְאֵת הַמַּעֲשֶׂה  
7 אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשׂוּן וְאִתָּה[ן תַּחֲזֹק לָךְ] מִכָּל הָעַם אֲנָשֵׁי חֵיל יִרְאִי יְהוָה

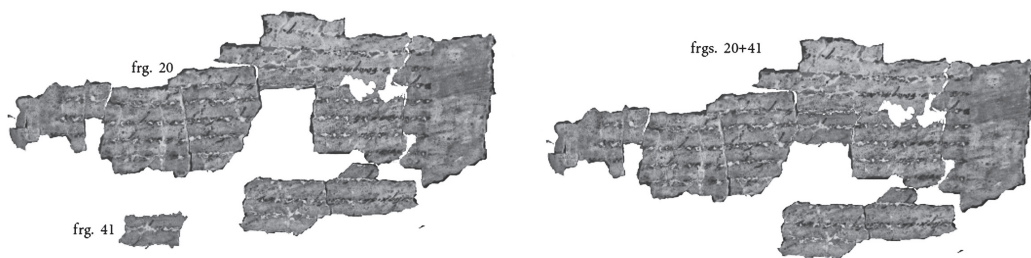


Figure 1: Fragment 20 and fragment 41; join of fragment 20 with fragment 41

### 2.1.2 *Frag. 44: Exod 12:5–8 (IAA 398.23; PAM 42.011, 42.803)*<sup>9</sup>

1 מ[מן  
2 וְש[  
3 הו[  
4 וְ[  
5 וְ[

Fragment 44 preserves traces of a seam on its left side, indicating that it belongs to the last column on the sheet. As only isolated letters are preserved on each line, the identification is based on the successful combination of all legible letters in the attested lines of the fragment.

<sup>8</sup> Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, “11. 4QpaleoGenesis-Exodus<sup>1</sup>,” 48.

<sup>9</sup> Image at <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-475414>.

The fragment is left unidentified in the official edition, in part because of a faulty transcription.<sup>10</sup>

Based on the new identification, fragment 44 should be joined with fragment 7 ii, on which Exod 11:4–12:12 is preserved.<sup>11</sup> The join yields the following transcription of 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>L</sup> 7 ii+44 lines 19–23:

19 [על השה שה תמים זכ]ר בן שנה יהיה לכם מן הכשב[ים] מן  
20 [העזים תקחו והיה לכם למש]מרת עד ארבעה עשר יום לחדש  
21 [הזה ושחטו אתו] כל עדת[ בני ]ישראל בין הערבים ולקח[ו]  
22 [מן הדם ונתנו ע]ל שתי המזוזות ועל המשקוף על הבת[ים]א[שר]  
23 [יאכלו אתו בה]ם ואכ[לו] את הבשר בלילה הזה צלי א[ש] ומ[צות]

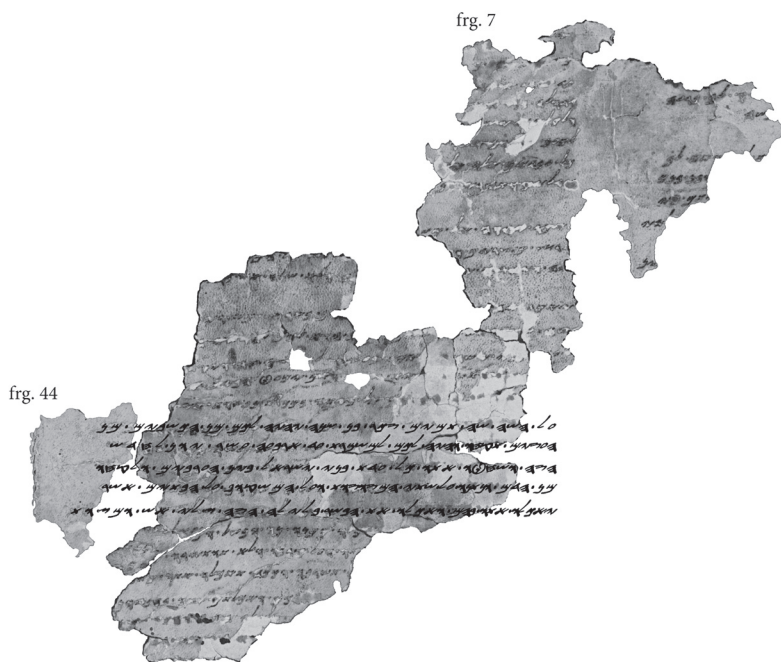


Figure 2: Join of fragment 7 ii with fragment 44

<sup>10</sup> Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, “4QpaleoGenesis-Exodus,” 49, read the first legible letter in line 2 as *ayin*. In addition, they do not offer readings for the letters *het*, *resh*, and *vav* in lines 3, 4, and 5, respectively.

<sup>11</sup> Image at <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-499664>. For the transcription, see Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, “4QpaleoGenesis-Exodus,” 31–32.

Importantly, the traces in fragment 7 ii perfectly fit the expected text and position based on our reconstruction. The only potential problem is that we must suppose a variant, where  $\text{מן}$  on the first legible line lacks a conjunction found in MT and SP.<sup>12</sup>

2.1.3 *Frag. 46: Exod 19:22–23 (IAA 398.13; PAM 42.011, 42.803)*<sup>13</sup>

]י[ ]ו[ ]ו[	1
]ל[ יהוה לא	2
]ל[ א	3

Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson did not read the letter *aleph* at the end of both line 2 and 3 and, therefore, did not identify this fragment.<sup>14</sup> Yet, though these letters are broken, their reading is probable. The only possible identification of such a combination is Exod 19:22–23:<sup>15</sup>

]י[ ]ו[ ]ו[	1
]א[ יהוה לא יוכל העם	2
הגבל א]ת העם	3

Fragment 21 attests to Exod 19:24–20:2. According to the new identification of fragment 46, we may conclude that fragments 21 and 46 were close to each other in the original scroll, prior to its deterioration.

2.1.4 *Frag. 47: Exod 23:9–11 (IAA 398.3; PAM 42.011, 42.802)*<sup>16</sup>

]oooo oo[	1
]ץ מצרים[	2
]ספת את תבוא[	3
]loooooo ל[	4

Fragment 47 is poorly preserved. It attests to the remains of four lines of text, only two of which are legible. The reading of the hitherto indecipherable letters *tsade* and *samech* in lines 2 and 3, respectively, enables the identification of the text preserved in fragment 47 as Exod 23:9–11.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup> LXX is in agreement with MT/SP (καὶ τῶν ἐρίφων).

<sup>13</sup> Image at <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-475374>.

<sup>14</sup> Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, “4QpaleoGenesis-Exodus<sup>1</sup>,” 49.

<sup>15</sup> Note that it is a bit difficult to figure out which *yod* in the context is represented in line 1.

<sup>16</sup> The fragment is not available on the website of the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library. However, it appears on the plate image of 398, <http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-496252>. For the PAM image, see <http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284767>. The Fragment appears on the top of the image, the third from the left.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, “11. 4QpaleoGenesis-Exodus<sup>1</sup>,” 49. The editors incorrectly read the second word in line 2 as two words: ]יב םיב. In addition, they

The textual identification of fragment 47 is supported by material considerations. According to the proposed identification, fragment 47 should be directly joined to fragment 23, which preserves the text of Exod 23:5–16. Indeed, when the fragments are aligned according to the preserved text, their physical protrusions fit well together (fig. 3). Consequently, the new identification of fragment 47 as Exod 23:9–11 is certain.

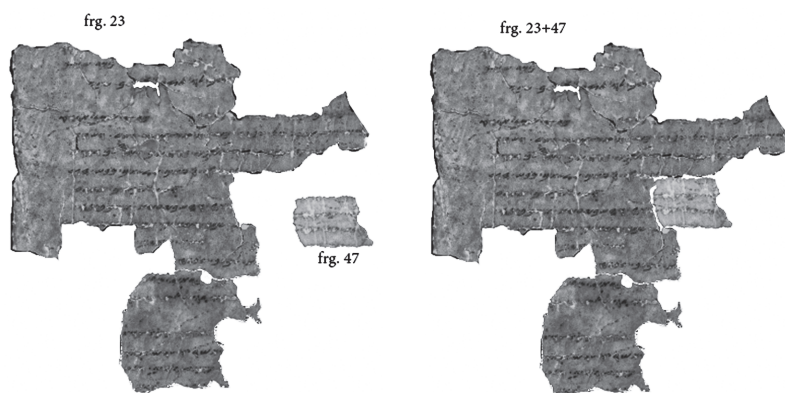


Figure 3: Fragment 23; fragment 47; join of fragment 47 with fragment 23

Given this new join, one may propose readings for the indecipherable letters of lines 1 and 4 of fragment 47. This could result in the transcription of 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup> 47+23 lines 8–11 as:

וג'ר לא תלחצו ואתם ידעתם נפש הגר	8
[כי גרים הייתם בא]רץ מצרים ושש שנים תורע	9
[את ארצך ו]אספת את תבואתה והשביעית תשמטנה	10
[ונטשתה ואכ]לו אביוני עמך ויתרם תאכל חית השדה	11

#### 2.1.5 Frag. 48: Exod 15:2–4 (IAA 398.14; PAM 41.387, 42.803)<sup>18</sup>

] °°	1
] ° יהוה	2
] ° מִבְּחָ שֶׁלֹ	3
] °°	4

read the first word in line 3 as **בַּת**. Therefore, they are not able to offer an identification of this fragment.

<sup>18</sup> Image at <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-475378>.



Fragment 48 preserves a wide intercolumnar margin, whose width is 2 cm.<sup>19</sup> Despite the paucity of evidence, the fragmentary text can be identified. The only place where יהוה and a word beginning מב occur in such proximity is Exod 15:2–4, yielding the following partial reconstruction:<sup>20</sup>

- 1 יהוה
- 2 יהוה גבור
- 3 מבחר שלש
- 4 ]oo

The ink traces in line 1 seem to spell out the word יה. Such a reading is also in line with the expected distance between lines 1 and 2, as determined by the textual reconstruction of lines 2 and 3 (fig. 4).

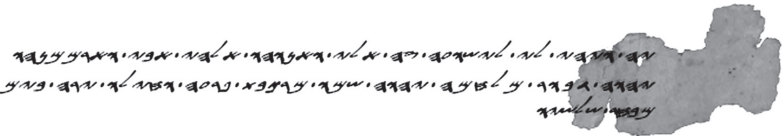


Figure 4: Textual reconstruction of fragment 48 (Exod 15:2–4)<sup>21</sup>

The traces of the last legible letter in line 2 cannot come from an *aleph*, but nicely match *gimel*.<sup>22</sup> The new identification of fragment 48 then reveals a probable agreement between 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>l</sup> and SP-Exod 15:3 (גבור) against MT (איש). The reading reflected in 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>l</sup> and SP seems to be motivated by the wish to avoid anthropomorphic references to God, and it may also be related to the Old Greek reading σὺντρίβων and/or the Syriac Peshitta reading *גבור*.

4QpaleoGen-Exod <sup>l</sup>	SP	MT	NRSV
יהוה גבור	יהוה גיבור במלחמה יהוה שמו	יהוה איש מלחמה יהוה שמו	The Lord is a warrior; the Lord is his name

<sup>19</sup> Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, “11. 4QpaleoGenesis-Exodus<sup>l</sup>,” 50, suggest that ink from the letters of the preceding column survived on the right edge of the fragment, but traces of it are not evident in the PAM and IAA images.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, “11. 4QpaleoGenesis-Exodus<sup>l</sup>,” 50. The editors do not propose an identification for fragment 48, as they read line 3 incorrectly: בבל [ כללי].

<sup>21</sup> Font design: Hila Dayfani and Einat Tamir.

<sup>22</sup> The letter is transcribed as a probable *resh* in the official edition.

Moreover, fragment 48 provides some insight into the layout of the Song of the Sea (Exod 15) in 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>L</sup>. The song was clearly not arranged in an overlapping brick/non-brick format as in the medieval Jewish tradition, since all three lines are right-justified. Yet, the reconstructed lines in fragment 48 are somewhat shorter than the average for the column based on fragment 11, which preserves Exod 16:2–6 and belongs to the same column.<sup>23</sup> This raises the possibility that there were small blank intervals at points in the song, but it is impossible to prove this definitively.<sup>24</sup>

## 2.2 Fragment included but not transcribed or identified in the official edition

*Frag. 52: Exod 25:14–15 (IAA 395.26; PAM 42.976)*<sup>25</sup>

]◦ ◦◦[	1
]◦ <sup>◦</sup> לֹא ׀ ׀ <sup>◦</sup> ◦[	2
<i>vacat</i> (bottom margin?)	3

Fragment 52 preserves two lines of text. The third line shows a blank space, which may represent a *vacat* or a bottom margin. The identification of the fragment has been enabled due to the reading of line 2. The last letter in this line is represented by ink marks that appear above the line. The only two possible readings of these marks are the letters *lamed* or *samech*. While the reading of *lamed* does not produce any possible text, the reading of *samech* produces only one possible identification: Exod 25:15. Fortunately, the other traces on the line match this identification. The first letter is represented by remnants of a letter base, which can correspond to a *bet*. The traces of the next letter fit with a downstroke and head of *dalet*. Thus, the new identification yields the following transcription:

<sup>23</sup> Image at <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-363099>. For a detailed material reconstruction of 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>L</sup>, see Dayfani, “Rethinking the Textual Value of 4Q11,” *Textus* 30 (2021): 105–129.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. the similar situation in 4Q365 and 4Q14, the latter of which may be textually related to 4Q11, according to Drew Longacre, “A Contextualized Approach to the Dead Sea Scrolls Containing Exodus” (PhD diss.: University of Birmingham, 2015), 223. The reconstruction of 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>L</sup> based on fragment 48 may also be compatible with the two-column layout known in medieval Samaritan manuscripts, e.g., MS London, Or. 6461 (copied in 1339 CE), which can be seen at [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=or\\_6461\\_fs001r](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=or_6461_fs001r) (folio 65r).

<sup>25</sup> Image at <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-362173>.

]o ooo[ 1  
ה'בד'ים לא יס'רו ממנו 2  
*vacat* 3

According to the new identification, fragment 52 is directly joined with fragment 28, which preserves Exod 25:13–15.<sup>26</sup> As seen in figure 5, the physical protrusion of the fragments fits well. In addition, the blank space at the bottom of fragment 28 is in accordance with the blank space in fragment 52. Based on the textual reconstruction proposed by Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, this space is a *vacat*, rather than bottom margin.<sup>27</sup>



Figure 5: Join of fragment 52 with fragment 28

### 2.3 Unidentified fragment that was not associated with the scroll so far

*Frag. 65: Exod 8:12 (IAA 95.109; PAM 43.699)*<sup>28</sup>

*vacat* (top margin?) 1  
]ר הארס[ 2  
]o[ 3

This fragment has not been previously identified. It was catalogued in the unidentified plates and published as fragment 107 in DJD 33. It is catalogued as Manuscript 4Q9999 in the Leon Levy Digital Library, a catalogue number that does not represent an original manuscript, but rather includes all the unidentified fragments in Cave 4 that have not been assigned to specific manuscripts.

The fragment is relatively small, with only very poorly preserved text written in paleo-Hebrew script. We have associated this fragment with 4Q11 based on both paleographical and material considerations. Paleographically, the clearly visible letters *aleph* and *he* in the second line match perfectly with 4Q11's script. Moreover, the fragment shows

<sup>26</sup> Image at <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-475374>.

<sup>27</sup> Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, "11. 4QpaleoGenesis-Exodus<sup>1</sup>," 43.

<sup>28</sup> Image at <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-504411>.

a shared material feature with other 4Q11 fragments in the peeling of the upper skin layer.

A top margin or a blank interval is seen in the first line. The second line is the only legible line in this fragment. The letters *he* and *aleph* are clear. Furthermore, at the right edge of the second line, one may observe the remains of a sharp letter's head, probably representing *dalet* or *resh*. Similarly, the letter after *aleph* is probably *dalet* or *resh*, represented by the remains of its head and downstroke. At the end of the line, one may observe a small ink remnant of the next letter. A curved letter's head is seen in the third line.

A query of these readings in the Book of Exodus indicates that there are only three possible identifications of this fragment, all in Exod 8:12–13, that contain the phrase עפר הארץ. Since fragment 5 i preserves portions of Exod 8:13, the possible identifications place this fragment in proximity to fragment 5.

The identification of the fragment with Ex 8:12 seems preferable, due to the following considerations:

- (1) This identification places the new fragment closer to fragment 5.
- (2) As no fragment of 4Q11 preserves a top margin, it is most likely that the blank space at the top is a *vacat*. MT places a *parasha setuma* after verse 11, while SP attests there a *qiṣṣa*. This identification would suggest that 4Q11 also divides verses 11 and 12 by the *vacat* seen in the first line.
- (3) The round letter at the bottom fits better here. It matches with the letter *tet* in the word במטהו that appears in the next verse.

The join of fragment 65 with fragment 5 i yields the following transcription:

<i>vacat</i>	1
עפר הארץ	2
במ[ט]הו	3
כני[ם]	4

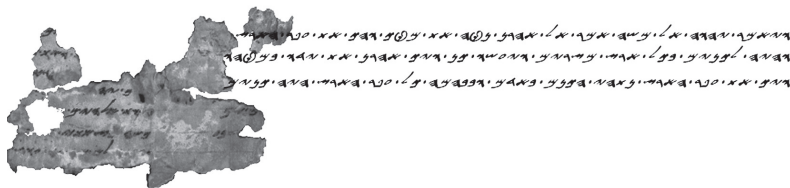


Figure 6: Join of fragment 65 with fragment 5 i

## 2.4 Unpublished fragments from IAA plate 395

### 2.4.1 *Frag. 66: Exod 25:21–22 (IAA 395.25; PAM 41.388, 42.803)*<sup>29</sup>

]◦◦[ 1  
 ]◦[אֶרֶן תָּנָן]◦ 2  
 ]◦◦[ל]◦[ 3

Fragment 66 contains three lines. Lines 1 and 3 are poorly preserved and barely legible. Nonetheless, the identification of the fragment is possible due to the reading of line 2. Traces of the oblique stroke of the *aleph* are best seen in the PAM image. Moreover, the ink of the letters *resh* and *vav* have been degraded. These letters, however, can be recognized by their outlines. Based on these readings, fragment 66 can only be identified as Exod 25:21–22.

According to this identification, fragment 66 should be joined with fragment 29, which preserves Exod 25:19–21.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, the physical protrusion of the fragment fits perfectly (fig. 7). The joined lines yield the transcription:

אֶחָד אֶל אֶחָד {◦} אֶל הַכֹּפֶרֶת 1  
 וְאֶל הָאֶרֶן תָּנָן אֵת הָעֹדֹת 2  
 מִן הַכֹּפֶרֶת 3

The new identification and join reveal an additional agreement of 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>l</sup> with SP against MT. Incorporating the scribal correction at the end of the phrase, 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>l</sup> reads with SP and 4QpaleoExod<sup>m</sup> אֶחָד אֶל אֶחָד, “each one to the other one,” in Exod 25:20, while MT reads אִישׁ אֶל אָחִיו, “each man to his brother”.<sup>31</sup> The phrase אֶחָד אֶל אֶחָד refers to the Cherubim, which is also the case in the SP description of the construction of the Cherubim in Exod 37:9. While it is uncertain if 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>l</sup> reflects a source in common with SP and 4QpaleoExod<sup>m</sup> or an independent development, it seems that the reading אֶחָד אֶל אֶחָד is an interpretative change that aims to avoid the implication that the Cherubim were human beings.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Image at <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-362171>. The traces of fragment 66 are more legible in PAM 42.803 image, which can be found at <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284770>.

<sup>30</sup> Image at <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-475422>.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, “11. 4QpaleoGenesis-Exodus<sup>l</sup>,” 43. The editors read אִישׁ אֶל אָחִיו. However, the first two letters were not easily legible before the join, and the last letter is clearly *dalet*, rather than *vav*. Note that the *dalet* is part of a scribal correction, since it seems to have been written over another letter. Perhaps the scribe originally wrote אָחִיו as in MT and then corrected it to אֶחָד.

<sup>32</sup> The identification of the Cherubim as winged children appears in *b. Hag.* 13b; *Suk* 5b. This identification is documented also in medieval sources. For discussion and

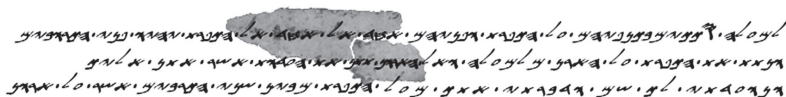


Figure 7: Join of fragment 66 with fragment 29

#### 2.4.2 Frag. 67: Exod 28:28? (IAA 395.9; PAM 42.803)<sup>33</sup>

]o[ 1  
]מעל האפוד[ 2  
]ל[ ]o[ 3

Fragment 67 is tiny and amounts to three fragmentary lines. Of these, only line 2 is legible. The ink marks in line 1 are probably remnants of the base of a letter, possibly *bet*, *kaf*, *mem*, *nun*, or *pe*. Given the secure reading of line 2, it can be identified in two possible ways, namely, as: (1) Exod 28:28; or (2) Exod 39:21. Both may fit the additional traces on the fragment. 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup> does not preserve any text from Exod 36:36 onwards, but two other fragments preserve the text of Exod 28.<sup>34</sup> The identification of fragment 67 as Exod 28:28 thus seems most probable.

### 3. IMPLICATIONS

In this study, we have proposed new identifications for eight hitherto unidentified fragments of 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup>: fragments 41, 44, 46–48, 52, 65–67. These new identifications first and foremost contribute to our understanding of the state of the scroll before its deterioration and of its content.

The proposed identifications also provide insight on the textual and material analysis of 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup>. Textually speaking, the new fragments and readings provide more affinities of 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup> with SP (fragments 48, 66). Given the fragmentary state of the scroll and the inconclusive situation regarding its textual classification, these

references, see Raanan Eichler, “Cherub: A History of Interpretation,” *Biblica* 96 (2015): 26–38. For further discussion of such literalizing tendencies, see Longacre, “Contextualized Approach,” 188–190. For the presence of interpretative readings in 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup>, see Dayfani, “Rethinking,” 122–129.

<sup>33</sup> Image at <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-362139>.

<sup>34</sup> Fragments 36, 37. See images at <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-475382> at <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-475350>, respectively. For the transcription, see Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, “11. 4QpaleoGenesis-Exodus<sup>1</sup>,” 46–47.



agreements may prove valuable to the analysis of the scroll's text and its relation to other copies of Exodus from Qumran.<sup>35</sup>

The new identifications also shed light on the materiality of 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>l</sup>. In some cases, they reveal direct or distant joins of the fragments discussed and other preserved fragments. The new joins might reveal repeated damage patterns in the fragments that were caused when the scroll was rolled up. These, as well as material features in particular fragments, such as seam remains (fragment 44), may contribute to the material reconstruction of 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>l</sup>.

An additional implication of the new identifications is related to the arrangement of Exod 15. Even though only one small fragment preserves the Song of the Sea in 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>l</sup> (fragment 48), it indicates that the layout of the song in the scroll was different from that of medieval Jewish manuscripts, though there may have been space for some small blank intervals in the reconstructed lines.

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<sup>35</sup> For discussions of the textual classification of 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>l</sup>, see e.g. Emanuel Tov, "The Biblical Texts from the Judaean Desert: An Overview and Analysis of Published Texts," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries*, ed. Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov (London: British Library, 2002), 154; Armin Lange, "2.2.1 Ancient, Late Ancient, and Early Medieval Manuscript Evidence," in *Textual History of the Bible*, ed. Armin Lange and Emanuel Tov, consulted online on 11 March 2021 at [http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107\\_thb\\_COM\\_0002020100](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107_thb_COM_0002020100); Longacre, "Contextualized Approach," 188–189.

## RECENSIONS

Stuart S. Miller, Michael D. Swartz, Steven Fine, Naomi Grunhaus, and Alex P. Jassen (eds.), *From Scrolls to Traditions: A Festschrift Honoring Lawrence H. Schiffman*, BRLJ 63 (Leiden: Brill, 2020). Pp. 556. €185/\$222. ISBN 978-90-04-44388-4.

In *From Scrolls to Traditions*, one finds a diverse set of scholarly studies, touching personal notes, and obvious traces of Lawrence Schiffman's influence within many contemporary scholarly discourses and academic circles. The volume contains twenty original chapters and is divided into two sections (Pre-rabbinic and Rabbinic Judaism). The studies in this *Festschrift* critically engage with biblical texts, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and rabbinic literature and are reflective of the scholarly breadth and impact of Lawrence Schiffman's contributions to modern scholarship.

The first section, titled "Biblical and Second Temple Period," contains a set of studies ranging in topics from Jacob Brodsky's chapter on the connections between the book of Tobit and Zoroastrianism to Ari Mermelstein's study on the ways ancient Jewish scribes preserved and utilized the Genesis flood narrative during the Second Temple period. Many of the essays share similar themes such as a concerted effort to situate ancient texts and communities within a decidedly Jewish context and examine forms of ancient scholasticism. Given that this edited volume contains twenty studies, in what follows, I highlight several essays that would be of particular interest to scholars of Qumran literature.

This first section opens with Joseph L. Angel's "Probing the Jewish Setting of Matthew 11:25-30." Focusing on a broader first century Jewish context, Angel suggests that we can glean different perspectives of these verses in Matthew which have long been a source of debate among Christians and scholars. These verses have played a key role in ancient Trinitarian debates and also appear to draw from Jewish wisdom traditions. Angel investigates the origin of these passages by opting to evaluate them alongside several didactic texts found at Qumran such as 4QApocryphon of Levi<sup>b</sup> (4Q541), portions of 1QH 12, and the Self-Glorification Hymn. Angel suggests that even though we may not be able to directly link these two textual traditions together, scholars are able to trace different trajectories of sapiential thought when evaluating Matthew and

Qumranic texts alongside each other as both show concern for messianic and Son of Man figures.

Likewise, Miryam T. Brand's "Demons and Dominion: Forcing Demons into the Divine Order in Jubilees and the Dead Sea Scrolls" brilliantly navigates the ways that ancient Near-Eastern communities understood demons. Brand surveys literature which contains chief demonic figures (Mastema & Belial) and proposes that their inclusion within Second Temple period texts such as *Jubilees*, the Community Rule (1Qs), and the Damascus Document (CD) was the result of the scribe needing to submit anarchic spirits to a divinely sanctioned leader. Brand suggests that we can better understand the scribe writing demons into a theological system when we evaluate this practice alongside different Ancient Near-Eastern conceptions of demons, focusing on depictions of the baby-snatching demon *Lamashtu/Pashittu*.

Schiffman's scholarship has consistently put scholars of the Second Temple period and rabbinics into conversation with each other. Alex Jassen's "The Early Study of Jewish Law in the Damascus Document: Solomon Schechter and Louis Ginzberg in Conversation and Conflict," embodies this legacy by emphasizing modern conceptions of ancient halakha. Using letters and diary entries shared between these two scholars and others close to them, Jassen's chapter reminds us that we are products of our own intellectual environments and that all academic pursuits are couched within contemporary contexts, relationships, and aims. Jassen highlights the ways that early 20th-century Jewish scholars interpreted the Damascus Document in light of their own understandings of Jewish law (halakha) before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The second section, titled "Rabbis, Other Jews, and Neighboring Cultures," is comprised of an array of interesting studies on Jewish communities after the destruction of the Second Temple up through Late Antiquity. The studies in this second section range in topics from rabbinic interpretation of law in its earliest contexts to Medieval Jewish engagement with magic and curse tablets. The study of halakha is essential to all these essays. One of the themes found in this section of the volume is the authors' emphasis on the possible connective threads between Jewish life during the Second Temple period and rabbinic Judaism. Most of these studies used halakha as a point of commonality between various academic disciplines. Those interested in the Dead Sea Scrolls should read Richard Hidary's "A Tale of Two or Three Witnesses: Witness Testimony in Greco-Roman, Qumranic, and Rabbinic Court Procedures." Hidary explicates the exegetical approaches used by various Jewish communities when deciding if a person is guilty of a crime. To understand the different interpretations offered by the DSS and rabbinic literature, Hidary first includes relevant passages on legal procedures from Numbers (35.50) and Deuteronomy (17.6; 19.15). He places the Damascus Document in conversation with both Greco-Roman and rabbinic court contexts.

*From Scrolls to Traditions* offers scholars a noteworthy series of perspectives into the lives of ancient Jewish communities spanning from the Second Temple period to the Middle Ages. Readings these studies collectively, it is clear that each study in its own way is either advocating for or pushing the

boundaries of established methods of how scholars engage with and interpret ancient texts. Organizing this volume more thematically as opposed to chronologically (pre and post 70 CE) would have better captured the essence of Schiffman's contributions to the field because his scholarship has fostered dialogue between scholars of the Second Temple period and rabbinical Judaism. This *Festschrift* emphasizes the brilliant and innovative thinking that Lawrence Schiffman cultivated within his students. This edited volume would be helpful for anyone interested in Ancient and Medieval Judaism.

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Molly M. Zahn, *Genres of Rewriting in Second Temple Judaism: Scribal Composition and Transmission* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020). Pp. x + 264. \$75.28. ISBN 978-1-108-47758-5.

The question of whether “Rewritten Bible” constitutes a literary genre—and which texts belong to it, if so—has been the subject of lively scholarly debate for the past thirty years. Much of the examination—and re-examination—of the theme has been prompted by two factors: a) the publication of critical editions of and commentaries on Second Temple Jewish compositions—most notably the Qumran scrolls—has placed more individual “cases” at scholars’ disposal for consideration and classification, some challenging prevalent “Rewritten Bible” paradigms; and b) developments in other fields—e.g., advances in Biblical Studies and new theories regarding translation and genre—have offered students of Second Temple Jewish literature (henceforth: STJL) with new lenses through which to approach ancient texts and their interrelations. While “Rewritten Bible” or rewriting the Bible issues have garnered much attention, however, the majority of contributions have taken the form of journal articles or chapters in edited volumes. Molly Zahn’s monographs *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture* (2011) and *Genres of Rewriting in Second Temple Judaism: Scribal Composition and Transmission* (2020) are exceptions to this rule. This literary format structures Zahn’s latest study which, engaging in a comprehensive treatment of the theme, offers detailed, in-depth discussions reflecting diverse scholarly approaches and draws examples from numerous ancient texts.

Exploring rewriting as a broad, dynamic and complex literary phenomenon via the use of neutral, well-defined terminology, Zahn grounds her understanding of “rewriting” in the framework of genre and translation studies. She handles the issues these raise—such as the weaving of disparate, and on occasion, complex perspectives into a coherent argument and evincing the potential the theories employed carry for shedding light on ancient Jewish compositions and the limitations from which they suffer—superbly. Her presentation of “paradigms” in relation to genre and translation in general or the function of the Aramaic Targum/Septuagint in particular is clear and engaging, resting on an extensive bibliography. Her detailed analysis of study cases

drawn from the Dead Sea Scrolls, Septuagint, and Targumim demonstrates how these “theories” interact with and elucidate the ancient literary phenomenon of rewriting as a whole and specific performances in particular. While establishing the contribution this “tool box” makes to our understanding of STJL texts, she also elaborates the methodological challenges involved.

Chapter 1 sets the scene by arguing that all ancient Jewish texts—including those that display engagement with earlier texts (e.g., copying, translating, rewriting, etc.)—are framed in a broad sociocultural context, constituting “only one element in the vibrant and ongoing discourse that constituted Israel’s literary heritage” (p. 34). Discussing the importance of context for illustrating the nature and function of rewriting (and related compositional activities) in later chapters (esp. 5–7), Zahn defines it herein as a dynamic and complex phenomenon that defies facile formulation. No definitional consensus having yet been achieved, a plethora of terms are in use, many of which do not properly describe the phenomenon. Understanding rewriting as the “deliberate, unmarked reproduction and modification of one text by another” (p. 38), she proposes two sub-categories: revision and reuse. While revision is the copy of an existing work, reuse incorporates material from an existing work into a new one.

Exploring various aspects of genre theory, Chapter 2 details the ways in which these can serve as tools for talking about/describing rewriting. The first section examines three recent trends in genre studies: a) the emphasis placed upon its flexibility; b) its functional aspect; and c) its status as a cognitive category, to which individual cases are assigned if and when they correspond to a prototype. The second part conceptualizes rewriting, revision and reuse as “genres” of scribal activity. Following recent genre-theory trends, Zahn posits new questions—e.g., does each type of rewriting possess a specific function—and defines the sub-categories, all the while acknowledging their fluid parameters, overlapping, and co-existence.

Chapter 3 examines the Hebrew Bible. Here, Zahn notes that as developments in the field of inner-biblical interpretation and the Dead Sea Scrolls—including borderline cases such as 4QReworked Pentateuch and the Psalm Scroll—have demonstrated, rewriting is a feature of both canonical and non-canonical texts. She thus reinforces the fact that the phenomenon is independent of the issue of canonicity. Applying the terminology and conceptual framework articulated in Chapters 1 and 2 to biblical texts, she analyzes documented cases of reuse and revision. While the former may occur within a single version—e.g. MT Ps 18 vs. MT 2 Samuel 22—the latter are identified via comparison between different versions (e.g., MT and SP). While the texts in question exhibit literary affinities, the precise nature of the latter are not always easy to determine: which depends on which, for example, or do they lie along a “simple” linear continuum or are they the result of a more complex, multi-stage compositional process. The fact that scholars can only partially trace the compositional process underlying *documented* cases of reuse and revision highlights the difficulty in accurately reconstructing *non-documented* cases—i.e., textual developments intimated by clues within a single version. While these reconstructions remain conjectural, a more precise mapping of documented cases may still contribute to the identification and understanding of non-documented cases.

Chapter 4 addresses the broad scope of “rewriting.” The variety of content and arrangement in the War Scroll (1QM) vs. the related Cave 4 material and the copies of the Community Rule (S) and Hodayot (H), for example, all reflect a pluriformity of tradition created (at least in part) by revision or reuse. Moreover, a single composition may contain rewritten “biblical” and “non-biblical” texts side by side. A composition that reuses biblical text can itself also be rewritten. Jubilees is a prime example of both these phenomena. Reusing Genesis and the first half of Exodus, together with material from “non-biblical” sources, such as the Book of Watchers, parts of it were then reused by other ancient authors—e.g., 4Q390.

Zahn focuses on the rewriting of earlier *Jewish* texts—“biblical,” “non-biblical,” or both. The “non-biblical” corpus is much more extensive than implied by the cases she adduces, however, covering non-Jewish Greek and Latin literature. Hamrick (2014), for instance, has convincingly demonstrated that Esau’s speech in Jub. 37:18–23 reuses Achilles’ speech in the *Iliad* (22.260–272). Together with evidence from Josephus’ *Antiquities* and Biblical Antiquities, these texts substantiate Zahn’s argument that STJL rewriting is not confined to “biblical” sources. It also broadens her claim by evincing that the strategy was applied to both Jewish and non-Jewish texts.

Chapter 5 explores the relation between “rewriting” and “translation”—both of which reconfigure source-texts. As a compositional process that produces a copy of an existing text, translation is a sub-type of revision—albeit in a different language. Vermes initially defined “rewriting” as a form of (biblical) interpretation, subsequent scholars further observing the close link(s) between translation—the LXX/OG in particular—and interpretation, the act of “representing” the source text in a different language entailing numerous conscious interpretive decisions. According to Descriptive Translation Studies principles as applied (in particular) to the LXX/OG, these are governed by the function for which the translation was intended—this itself reflecting the norms and expectations of a given culture. The LXX/OG cases Zahn adduces evince a Hellenistic milieu (the allusion to an initiation rite in LXX Deut 23:17, for example) or Hellenistic Jewish setting (the “plus” in LXX Isa 48:21 drawing on LXX rather than MT Exod 17:6). Similar compositional activities—i.e. culturally conditioned changes to the source text—are also typical of Hebrew language *revisions* and the Aramaic Targumim. While, like the OG/LXX, the latter represent the Hebrew source in a different language, they incorporate far more “content changes” than the ancient Greek translation(s), also being considerably less isomorphic. Zahn attributes these features to the Targum’s “distinctive function (mediation of rabbinic learning) in a particular sociocultural context (the rabbinic academy)” (p. 164).

While the Genesis Apocryphon—the final example Zahn discusses in this chapter—also allows “content changes” and the integration of additional material into the text, it is not a copy of the biblical source it reworks. It is thus a *reuse* rather than a revision.

Zahn’s terminology and assessment of translation and rewriting enables us to further elucidate the way in which these two literary activities interact. The reworking of traditions from the Book of Watchers and the *Iliad* in Jubilees



may both be instances of *reuse* involving transfer from one language to another (Aramaic and Greek). In contrast to the Genesis Apocryphon, however, this type of rewriting is limited to small units interwoven within a lengthy same-language reuse of Genesis and the first half of Exodus in Jubilees. In addition to rewriting “biblical”/“non-biblical” and “Jewish”/“non-Jewish” texts side by side, ancient Jewish authors also rewrote multilingually—these three dimensions partially overlapping, of course. The rewriting process is thus complex not only because of the plethora and variety of sources that are “mixed and matched” in a single work but also due to the diverse *structures* into which they are organized.

Zahn addresses this issue in Chapter 6. Although Jubilees, the Genesis Apocryphon, and the Temple Scroll are customarily viewed as *reuse* prototypes, Zahn contends that the “extensive, serial and centripetal rewriting of a single main base text” (p. 170) is only one of many forms reuse may take. Arguing that not every type of reuse serves an exegetical function, she discusses five forms of reuse in addition to the “centripetal” reuse characteristic of Jubilees: limited, historical résumé, pastiche, structural, and new narratives associated with a known character; (a very helpful tabular summary appears on p. 194). This taxonomy allows us both to give a properly nuanced description of an individual performance of “reuse” (and thus also of “rewriting”) and examine it in its context—i.e., in light of other examples from the same category.

The claim that “the point is not the categories themselves but finding a way of balancing precise descriptions of nature and function of reuse in specific situations (i.e. attention to differences) with awareness of formal and functional connections between all these different situations” (p. 195) is at odds with the body of the chapter, however, which illustrates specific categories defined by a set of criteria aligned along the axes of form and function. While the interplay between the latter creates a sophisticated taxonomy and the cluster of “traits” certain categories exhibit are useful and convincing, types of reuse that take the form of a short unit embedded within a longer text frequently have more in common than the table suggests. While the table attributes a “wide range of generic settings/locations” solely to historical summaries, for example, the same trait can also be found in limited reuse and (many cases of) pastiche. Jub. 20:2 makes limited reuse of Lev 19:18 (“love your fellow as yourself”) in the context of a testament, for example, Jub. 36:22–24 similarly making limited reuse of the same ordinance within a dialogue. The pastiche from the Temple Scroll (11Q19 59:2–7, discussed by Zahn on pp. 187–189) constitutes part of the kingship law, that in 1 Macc 1:25b–28 likewise being a lamentation set within a narrative-form historiography.

Building on the first six, Chapter 7 addresses rewriting as part of a (broader) textual culture, focusing in particular on the relationship between “rewriting,” “authority,” and “exegesis.” Associating “rewriting” with “authority,” previous scholars have maintained that this type of compositional activity was specifically applied to authoritative texts, rewriting thus serving as an authorizing strategy. Zahn’s demonstration of the complexity and breadth of rewriting calls for a more nuanced approach. If rewriting is multidimensional, involving a variety of base texts and manifesting diverse forms/functions (e.g. revision vs. reuse, the various types of reuse discussed in Chapter 6), rewriting

and authority cannot be governed by a strict monolithic paradigm. Its complexity also demands re-examination of the traditional assumption that “the *point* of rewriting was to interpret biblical texts” (p. 206 [original italics]). This claim is refuted by the fact a) that rewriting encompasses both biblical and non-biblical texts; and b) that not all types of rewriting are primarily exegetical in purpose. When the phenomenon is framed within the broad “Second Temple literary landscape,” it thus becomes clear that it forms part of the on-going process of committing illustrious traditions (of disparate kinds) to writing and memory and transmitting, preserving, and renewing them.

Leading us expertly through the labyrinth of “rewriting,” Zahn analyzes short texts/study cases as carefully and cleverly as she does broad, over-arching questions. One of her greatest achievements thus lies in allowing readers to see the forest and the trees alike. Adopting a variety of theoretical “lenses” and discussing a variety of corpora (Dead Sea Scrolls, OG/LXX, Targumim) under “one umbrella,” she hereby reveals that the “rewriting forest” is a dynamic, fascinating locus in which diverse species thrive.

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Charlotte Hempel, *The Community Rules from Qumran: A Commentary, Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 183* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020). Pp. xxv + 346. €144. ISBN 978-3-16-157026-1.

The field of Qumran studies has awaited full commentaries of the scrolls for a long time. Now these are beginning to appear, but what are we expecting from a commentary? The genre of scrolls’ commentary is not quite the same as that of biblical books. In order to understand a scroll, one first needs to establish and comment not only on the visible Hebrew text, but also on the scholarly interpretation of the Hebrew and its reconstructions (and often the ways in which fragments are put together). Secondly, one needs to pay attention to the scribal activity and materiality, that is, the ways in which the lines and sections are laid out, sheets are sown, corrections and marginal marks made, empty space left uninscribed, and so on. It is also necessary to observe what the quality of the leather or papyrus is and how many scribal hands were responsible for writing or copying the text. Thirdly, one needs to comment on several related scrolls or remains of scrolls that are thought to be interconnected or preserve similar textual material. Fourthly, one needs to provide a translation of and comment on the literary nature of the text and its sections, and to locate the text in its intertextual, historical, social, and cultural environment.

Charlotte Hempel’s commentary on the Community Rules, that is, those manuscripts that are named by scholars as *Serekh-haYahad* (S), fulfills all these expectations, but is, with good reason, also constrained in tasks that would have made the commentary too extensive or detailed.

In the beginning of her book, Hempel provides an introduction into the broader literary and geographical context and into the material features of the twelve manuscripts included, 1QS, 4QS<sup>a-j</sup>, 5QS, as well as some related scrolls. She then provides a section-by-section commentary, following the order of 1QS

for practical reasons. Each commentary chapter includes a synoptic translation of relevant manuscripts, textual notes, and comments on any relevant issues or interpretation. For the full Hebrew text, the reader needs to consult the editions.

Hempel underlines that her commentary does not prioritize 1QS but each manuscript is approached on its own. Naturally, the comparative approach is prevalent. The synoptic tables illustrate quickly for the reader how the manuscripts differ from each other. Yet, they do not allow seeing as quickly what can be assumed of each individual manuscript. Overall, Hempel helps to bring 1QS down from its pedestal and to reveal how the romanticizing readings of the community and its members may be balanced by a down-to-earth approach; the rules are not “reality literature” (9). She also brings in strongly a perspective, which is less seldom discussed in relation to the rule texts: apotropaic beliefs attested in other scrolls and the role of blessings in addressing demonic threats. From this perspective, S also appears in a new light. Hempel’s translations offer an abundance of valuable fresh suggestions, such as “those who are fervently committed” (for the *hitpaell/niphal* of נִדְּבָה), focusing on the action, rather than translating as “volunteers,” which is often understood as a self-designation. Hempel interprets the traditions on the people of injustice as evidence of a schism within the movement; these people may have been former members or figures of authority. Commitment issues were real.

Hempel’s own research and approach is rightfully visible. She takes 1QS as one example of a longer, expanded or compiled version, in comparison to some shorter 4QS-manuscripts. The scribe(s) of 1QS knew the shorter form of the text found in some 4QS-manuscripts. Different sections are like tectonic plates (3) and different manuscripts have a different number and form of these plates. The only major deficiency in the commentary is that 1QSa and 1QSB are not included, although Hempel herself provides good reasons for why they may or even should have been included (15–19).

Commentary sections also function independently as they frequently include inner references to relevant information elsewhere in the book so the reader may start with the passage of interest without having to read the book from the beginning to the end. Hempel uses rich language and many metaphors to communicate her message. The footnotes contain an impressive amount of secondary literature, a rich resource for any student of the scrolls. This commentary sets a fine and desirable model for future commentaries on the scrolls.

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Jonathan Klawans and Lawrence M. Wills (eds.), *The Jewish Annotated Apocrypha: New Revised Standard Version Bible Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020). Pp. xxxiv + 706. £29.99. ISBN 978-0-19-026248-8.

This volume provides the first English edition of the Apocrypha that specifically targets a Jewish audience, thus complementing the previously

published *Jewish Annotated New Testament* and *Jewish Study Bible*. The aim is to present the Apocrypha—mostly composed by Jewish writers in the Second Temple era, but preserved in Christian Bibles—with an emphasis on Jewish tradition.

Many but not all of the contributors are Jewish in terms of religious or ethnic identity. Yet they all are “Judaically informed,” and the editors characterize them as “leading experts in Second Temple Judaism who are also well-versed in earlier and later Jewish material” (p. xxx). The primary areas of the contributors’ expertise indeed range from the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Judaism to the New Testament and the rabbinic literature, and this variety of backgrounds adds to the breadth of engagement with different types of ancient literatures in the volume.

The surviving manuscripts attest to slightly different combinations of the Apocrypha, and the choice of materials to be included in this kind of book is therefore not obvious. Certain texts that are commonly regarded as being of Christian origin (5-6 Ezra) are excluded from the volume. Meanwhile, it includes the Book of Jubilees, which can be regarded as an apocryphal text insofar as Jubilees is included in the canon of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and also revered by Ethiopian Jews. The same would apply to 1 Enoch, which is not included in the volume, and the editors admit and explain this inconsistency in their discussion of the selection of materials (pp. xxviii-xxix).

To highlight their Jewish character, the Apocrypha are arranged according to an order that imitates the structure of the Hebrew canon (Tanakh) as well as being inspired by the overall structure of Codex Sinaiticus (p. xxx). This means that “Law” (i.e., Jubilees) is placed in the very beginning of the collections, and it is followed by “Histories and Stories” (i.e., 1 Esdras, Greek Esther, Tobit, Judith, 1-3 Maccabees), “Prophecies” (i.e., Letter of Jeremiah, Baruch, Additions to Daniel, 4 Ezra), and “Poetry and Wisdom” (i.e., Psalm 151, Prayer of Manasseh, Wisdom of Solomon, Ben Sira, 4 Maccabees).

An introductory essay precedes the text of each book, and a concise commentary runs throughout the book at the bottom of the page. The entries also include sidebars and textboxes that discuss difficult matters in textual interpretation, highlight key themes or concepts, or illustrate aspects of the text’s wider cultural context. It is valuable that the commentators engage with ancient Jewish texts written in both Semitic and Greek languages, and some of them also draw on other ancient Mediterranean materials, including non-Jewish Greco-Roman literature and early Christian writings.

Understandably, the Dead Sea Scrolls feature in the annotations to different extents. It is not surprising that the commentaries on Jubilees (Matthew Goff), Tobit (Naomi Jacobs), and Psalm 151 (David Lambert) engage particularly much with the scrolls. Regarding the Book of Ben Sira and the Prayer of Manasseh, however, readers informed by the scrolls might expect slightly more engagement with them than what is currently offered.

The annotated Apocrypha are followed by 24 essays that illuminate the world from which these books hail, and the volume ends with helpful timelines, bibliographies, glossary, and index. More specifically, the essays revolve around three themes, including the Apocrypha’s (1) historical and

social contexts; (2) canonical and literary contexts; and (3) contribution to our understanding of Jewish life in the ancient world. On the whole, the essays are informative and well written. The lack of footnotes means that they are not overly technical. Yet they are based on recent research on Second Temple Judaism and rich in terms of their engagement with primary sources.

The Dead Sea Scrolls inform several of the essays, especially the entries on archaeology (Yonatan Adler), canon (Annette Yoshiko Reed), wisdom (Greg Schmidt Goering), ancient notions of the incompleteness of scripture (Eva Mroczek), and evil and sin (Miryam Brand). As one might expect, the scrolls play a role in the entry on Jewish sectarianism (Albert Baumgarten). Primarily, however, this essay traces processes of alienation and questions of dispute in the Apocrypha.

One of the 24 essays is dedicated to the Dead Sea Scrolls, and Alex Jassen manages to introduce the corpus and to comment on its apocryphal texts in just six pages. The concise yet enlightening essay amply serves its purpose, though one could ask whether the tripartite classification system—sectarian texts, biblical texts, and other writings—is the best way to conceive of the collection. Jassen, too, admits its anachronism while arguing for its usefulness (p. 584).

The volume is a great addition to the resources of anyone studying Second Temple Judaism, and the editors have done a major service to the field by gathering all this information into one book. The volume is accessible but thorough, thus being helpful to both students and scholars who look for fresh perspectives on the Apocrypha.

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